

THE MILITANT

A SOCIALIST NEWSWEEKLY/PUBLISHED IN THE INTERESTS OF THE WORKING PEOPLE

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New lynch mob terror in Boston

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PICKETS PROTEST IRANIAN REPRESSION: Chanting "Free Vida Tabrizi," "Free all the shah's political prisoners," and "Democratic rights for Iran," seventy-five people picketed the Iranian consulate in San Francisco July 16.

The protest was sponsored by the Committee for Artistic and Intellectual Freedom in Iran (CAIFI) and Amnesty International-USA. Daniel Ellsberg, Kay Boyle, and Black feminist author Maya Angelou joined the picket line.

Vida Tabrizi, formerly a sociologist at the University of Tehran, was arrested three years ago while doing a study of the living conditions in rural Iran. No charges against her have been made public, and inquiries about her by her friends and family have met with no response.

During the recent United Nations International Women's Year Conference in Mexico City, CAIFI issued an appeal in behalf of Tabrizi, Atefeh Gorgin, and the estimated 4,000 other women political prisoners in Iran. (Gorgin's husband, poet Khosrow Golsorkhi, was executed last year, and she was arrested for publishing an anthology that included some of his works.)

The appeal says in part: "These women belong to the growing number of women whose increased role in the political, social, economic, and literary activities of their countries has made them subject to torture and detention." It ends with a demand for their immediate release.

The last issue of the Militant before our summer break will be dated August 15. We will resume our regular weekly schedule with the issue dated September 5.

ATTACK ON CALIF. GAY RIGHTS LAW FLOPS: Right-wing church elements appear to have failed in their effort to win repeal of the recently enacted California statute legalizing all private sex acts between consenting adults.

The Coalition of Concerned Citizens sought to collect the 312,404 valid signatures necessary to place the issue before the voters as a ballot referendum.

However, at the filing deadline, a lawyer for the coalition conceded they probably did not have sufficient signatures to qualify the proposition.

If the measure had qualified for the ballot, it would have automatically postponed application of the law until a voters' decision was in.

Enactment of the law was generally regarded as contributing to the right of privacy in general, and to the civil rights of homosexuals in particular. The failure of the opponents of such a measure to obtain the necessary signatures to qualify their referendum is one more encouraging sign of changing times.

HOW THE WAR WAS LOST: Not about to let his American counterparts of Watergate fame get ahead of him, Nguyen "Dapper" Ky, the former South Vietnamese vice-president, is hitting the lecture trail at \$2,500 a shot.

Asked if he plans to use the money to help other Vietnamese refugees, Ky answered, "No, the money is my personal affair."

Ky offers his audiences an analysis of how the war was "lost": "Both the Americans and the South Vietnamese committed many errors. Most of the time the politicians lied to the people. . . . There was widespread corruption, . . . social injustice . . . bad economy."

'STOP KILLER COPS': One hundred people marched in Cleveland July 19 to protest police brutality. Banners demanded "Stop Killer Cops," "Cops Out of the Black Community," and "Justice for Dwain Hawkins and Derrick Browne." Hawkins and Browne were two young Black men recently murdered in cold blood by Cleveland cops.

At a rally after the march, Gloria Adams, Browne's mother, described the inconsistencies in the police version of her son's murder. "I'm good and mad because they've taken my child away from me for no reason at all," she said. "And I'm not going to let them do this to any other mother's child."

THE MILITANT GETS AROUND: The July 1975 issue of *El Gallo*, published by the Denver Crusade for Justice, reprinted Lupe Cázares's firsthand account (in the June 6 *Militant*) of how a Rio Grande Valley melon grower gunned down striking farm workers.

UNION PLANS GI ORGANIZING DRIVE: An official committee of the AFL-CIO-affiliated American Federation of Government Employees is working out details for a drive to organize members of the armed forces.

They "need somebody to represent them, that's for sure," says AFGE President Clyde Webber.

Response from the military brass has been predictably dim. Says army Maj. Gen. Winant Sidle, "Our position through the years has been very hard on this; namely, we can't tolerate it."

The go-ahead for the drive will be voted up or down at the 1976 AFGE convention. However, according to the July 30

Federal Times, "some observers believe the union may run into trouble with AFL-CIO boss George Meany who has often taken stands in defense of the military's traditional roles and values."

L.A. COPS SUSPEND 'ALPHA' FILE: The Los Angeles Police Department has stopped listing the names of "violent" Black youths in its so-called Alpha file.

Existence of the file became public eight months ago. At that time the Southern California American Civil Liberties Union filed federal suit to have the file abolished as an invasion of privacy.

The LAPD disclosed July 14 that it has added no new names since the suit was filed. The cops admitted to a list of 200 at that time. The names were volunteered by school bus drivers, teachers, and others.

ACLU attorney Mark Rosenbaum says the suit will not be withdrawn unless all the records are destroyed and the list-keeping definitively ended.

VOLUNTEERS NEEDED: Since 1971 the *Militant* has been indexed—at first annually and then semiannually—according to author, country, and subject. This has proved invaluable for those interested in the recent history of the labor movement, the antiwar movement, Black and Chicano struggles, women's liberation, the socialist and radical movements—and many other topics, national and international.

But there are still forty-three years (the *Militant* began publishing in 1928) unindexed. The wealth of material in these volumes is therefore virtually inaccessible. The *Militant* has begun a project to change that, and we're asking our readers to help by volunteering to index a volume or two of pre-1971 *Militants*.

No experience is necessary—we'll explain all the steps and provide the bound volumes to work with. It's the kind of work that can be done by people who prefer to, or need to, work at home. Readers involved in the project will need access to a typewriter.

If you can help, please contact Mary Jo Hendrickson at the *Militant*, 14 Charles Lane, New York, New York 10014. Telephone: (212) 243-6392.

PUERTO RICAN DAY PARADE IN NEWARK: Nearly 20,000 Puerto Ricans from northern New Jersey gathered in Newark on Sunday, July 27, to participate in the eighteenth annual Puerto Rican Day Parade of New Jersey.

One of the largest contingents in the march was made up of parents, students, and teachers protesting the threatened cuts in bilingual and bicultural education in Newark's public schools. One banner read: "Unete A Nostros/Defiende El Programa Bilingüe" (Unite with us/Defend the bilingual program).

A Contingente del Pueblo (People's Contingent) included the Newark Committee of the Puerto Rican Socialist party, Puerto Rican Organization of Rutgers University, Puerto Rican Teachers Caucus, Young Workers Liberation League, and a group demanding rights for undocumented workers.

—Nancy Cole

YOUR FIRST ISSUE?

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The trial of Joanne Little is underway. Her case has become a rallying point for opponents of racism and sexism. They will be watching developments in the courtroom in North Carolina. To stay on top of what's happening there and the growing defense effort around the country, subscribe to the *Militant*.

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Portuguese masses take to streets, protest moves toward dictatorship



Huge Socialist party demonstration in Lisbon July 19 demands military junta respect democratic rights.

Informations Ouvrières

By Gerry Foley
From Intercontinental Press

The dominant group in the Portuguese armed forces took another step July 25 toward consolidating an open military dictatorship. The Assembly of the Movimento das Forças Armadas¹ set up a triumvirate of generals entrusted with full military and political power.

The government has not yielded an inch to SP mobilizations of hundreds of thousands of workers demanding democracy. The reason is twofold. First, the actual government has been a military dictatorship from the start. It is difficult to force such a government to make changes on the political level, because of its authoritarian nature. Moreover, for the same reason, the regime is extremely inflexible. Once it began to make such changes under popular pressure, it would be doomed to disintegration and would inevitably be forced to give way to a parliamentary regime.

This is probably what the president, General Costa Gomes, meant when he said that if he agreed to the SP demand to oust Premier Vasco Gonçalves it would be a "blow against the revolution of the armed forces." That is, it would undermine the authority of the MFA by in effect transferring a share of the power to the SP.

MFA's Balancing Act

The new military junta has separated itself still further than the previous governmental forms from any real or theoretical democratic control or responsibility. At the same time, it may be able to balance still more easily among the contending forces. The CP could be expected to view as a victory the fact that Vasco Gonçalves was reconfirmed in his position, since it had mobilized its supporters in an all-out campaign to defend him.

At the same time, such devious politicians as Mário Soares could be expected to note that according to the new formula Vasco Gonçalves is no longer the effective head of government, his position now being held by a collective leadership in which he is outnumbered 2 to 1 by certified non-Communists.

The ultraleftists who look to the MFA to make or at least begin the process of socialist revolution in Portugal would certainly be delighted to see

their hero, Otelio Saraiva de Carvalho, included in the all-powerful triumvirate. Some of them have even added his photograph of the far-left pantheon of Marx, Engels, Lenin, Stalin, Mao Tsetung, Fidel, and Che.

The military tops also know all the magic words for the centrist and ultraleft groups—"workers control," "unity of the soldiers and the people," "people's power," "national independence," and "soviets." All these have been promised by the military, just so long as the legitimacy of rule by the generals is not challenged, so long as nobody raises awkward questions about who has the right to make the fundamental political decisions.

De Carvalho has demonstrated his skill at manipulating the ultraleftists in the process of consolidating the position of the military dictatorship. He cautiously encouraged the most left-wing military units to participate in the march to the Palácio São Bento on July 16, which had been called by a number of workers and tenants committees, thereby assuring that it would be a success in the eyes of the ultraleft. It was, in fact, the latest thing in the Lisbon revolutionary theater.

The ultraleftists who had been working themselves up to it for the last year by pumping their fists up and down, waving red flags, and chanting rhyming slogans, were ecstatic over the arrival of tanks and soldiers. They reportedly gave their finest perfor-



CARVALHO: A general who knows how to please the ultraleftists without giving up any power.

mance. No doubt General de Carvalho, who comes from a family of actors, was the most appreciative.

The demonstration did not threaten capitalism or the capitalist state apparatus. It mustered no more than 6,000 to 7,000 persons, who covered only a small part of the approach to the palace, no more than the usual ultraleftist crowd. Furthermore, the military could be sure that not all the ultraleft groups could ever unite in one action. Sure enough, some stayed away and would not let their "soviets" participate either.

Ultraleft Provocation

Nonetheless, the demonstration was useful as a provocation against the Constituent Assembly, which, as the symbol and focus of the principle of popular sovereignty, did pose a threat to the military. The guard was conveniently removed to facilitate this provocation. In the actual political circumstances, such a demonstration could not but become a mobilization against the Constituent Assembly, and thus a part of the campaign by the military and the Stalinists to dissolve the body. It also helped to lend a "revolutionary" luster to this campaign.

It would after all be rather unpopular to dissolve the assembly in the name of military dictatorship. That could lead to a confrontation. It was far more effective to do this in the name of a more perfect democracy, workers democracy, a government of workers councils.

This could be done quite safely, since the mass movement is still far from having reached the point where workers committees actually pose a possible governmental alternative. Such forms are still marginal, and their growth has been hindered rather than promoted by ultraleftists who view them already as full-blown organs of "people's power," or embryos that by their very nature are certain to grow into this overnight.

Thus, the "people's organizations" have not figured as an alternative here and now to military rule; in fact, their only credibility for the time being as an alternative to the Constituent Assembly has come from what the military has promised to make them in the future.

The Communist party and the Kremlin recognized this and gave their strongest support to the "people's power" plan. The Stalinists have

followed a consistent policy of supporting a "progressive" military dictatorship.

Regardless of any qualifications or reservations the ultraleft groups might raise, by joining in the military's campaign against the Constituent Assembly they were in fact trading the opportunities to build real workers power, which was offered by the struggle for democratic rights, in return for a promise by the military rulers that they would assume this task. The ultraleftists thus subordinated themselves politically to the junta. They turned away from the masses and toward military saviors.

At the same time, to defend the Constituent Assembly and its parliamentary perspectives, the moderate, thoroughly unrevolutionary Socialist party was forced to mobilize hundreds of thousands of workers, toilers, and radicalized petty bourgeois against the government. It was not a course on which the SP leaders willingly embarked. They tried every way possible to avoid it. But the Socialist party was forced to fight for its life.

SP Denied Any Voice

The SP had been denied any voice in the government. It had been pushed back into a precarious bridgehead in the press. With the help of the government and its own machine, the Communist party had gained overwhelming predominance in the mass media. All forms of parliamentary pressure had failed to wrest concessions from the regime. The military was now preparing to do away with any pretense of parliamentary government or political democracy. The SP thus would be denied any possibility to use its larger numerical following and greater popularity to counterbalance the more cohesive line and efficient machine of the CP in the trade-union movement, to say nothing of counterbalancing the advantages the CP gained from an obviously privileged relationship with the government. If Soares accepted this position, his electoralist party could quickly lose its momentum, break up, and fade away.

The captains, who are now generals, had the approval of the population for ending the repression of the old regime. This support was rather superficial. The military men had not won deepgoing loyalty by leading struggles against oppression or exploitation. Nor did the change in government mean a

Continued on next page

1. MFA—Armed Forces Movement.

...tens of thousands mobilize in fight to

Continued from preceding page

great improvement in the standard of living of the toilers, with the exception of some sections of the rural proletariat and landless peasantry. The overturn promised far more than the generals were able to deliver, and so it was only a matter of time until the universal adulation faded. The small number of abstentions in the April 25 elections, despite the military's muted but clear appeals for a blank vote, indicated that the masses were not prepared to give the military such a mandate.

Thus, the SP's strongest card was that it was the masses that should decide about the way socialism would be built in Portugal.

While it remained no less reformist, no less procapitalist, and thus unable

to break with the MFA and move toward a workers government, the embattled SP at this point at least did not rely on military saviors or bureaucratic positions. Nor did it appeal to the still unrepresentative and marginal "people's committees" that so fitted in with what the ultraleftists thought the masses should be or would be that they led these currents to ignore what the masses thought and wanted here and now, the present reality of Portugal. The SP turned to the masses. And for this, it came under a frenzied wave of demagogic attacks from the Communist party, which accused the Social Democrats of organizing "fascist" marches on Oporto and Lisbon.

This campaign, in varying keys, was

echoed by the ultraleft groups and armchair ultraleftists on "intellectual" weeklies like Lisbon's *Vida Mundial*, and even some West European and capitalist dailies, who inveighed against the original sins of "Social Democracy" and "anti-Communism."

In their theological enthusiasms, the ultraleftists and "red professors" forgot that the SP was not in the government, that it did not control the press or any of the powerful institutions of the country. In order to come to the SP rallies, people had to pass barricades called for not only by the Communist party but by the national trade-union federation. In Lisbon on July 19 they had to pass the guns and tanks of the military. Furthermore, they had to brave a furious campaign in the press.

The Mobilization Against SP

Six of the seven daily papers in Lisbon carried huge headlines portraying the SP rallies as reactionary assaults on the city. The banner head in the July 18 *A Capital* was "People's Vigilance to Block Reaction." The story under it started as follows: "The people's progressive forces throughout the country are vigilant in the defense of the revolutionary gains and for advancing and strengthening people's power, the fundamental basis for building socialism."

The issue of *Diário de Notícias* that hit the streets on the morning of July 19 carried the headline: "People and Military to the Barricades in Defense of the Revolution." The story under it began:

"Many thousands of workers started a mass mobilization last night in the Lisbon and Oporto regions to block possible reactionary maneuvers." Directly under the headline was a box:

"Today at 3:30 a.m., the national Intersindical distributed the following communiqué:

"National Intersindical, considering the need for a better coordination of the efforts of the people's and military forces involved in the defense of the Revolution, calls on the workers—

"To fall in behind the barricades being set up by the forces of Copcon.²

"To actively support the military forces in their tasks as an effective way of tightening the alliance between the people and the MFA.

"United, organized, vigilant, we will win."

The headline on the story underneath this was: "Facing the reactionary escalations, arms will be used if necessary, Copcon has announced in a communiqué."

The headline in *Diário de Lisboa* was "Copcon and the People Guard the Revolution." The headline in the purged *República* was "Workers and Soldiers Keep Watch on the Bourgeoisie." Its story began:

"The workers and soldiers are on the watch in a national situation dominated by a sharp conflict between two poles of power representing respectively the interests of the bourgeoisie (the Socialist party) and those of the workers (the MFA)."

Tens, if not hundreds, of thousands of workers, however, had a different idea as to who represented their interests. They swept over the feeble barricades set up in Oporto and filled the giant Antas sports stadium to overflowing. The pitiful gangs mustered by the Stalinist bureaucrats in Intersindical did not dare offer any resistance.

In its July 19 issue, the Oporto daily *Jornal de Notícias* reported: "As for the barricades on the Circunvalação,

the following poster was put up. 'Attention barricade watchers, the Matosinhos fishermen are coming through at 4:30 heading for Antas stadium.' And they went through."

Another local daily, *O Primeiro de Janeiro*, reported: "Over the loudspeakers in Antas it was announced that Mário Soares 'was on the way to the stadium, on foot, surrounded by thousands of comrades.' The many thousands of persons concentrated there began to shout in unison: 'Victory! Victory! Victory!' 'The people's will must be respected.'"

Manuel Alegre asked: "Is everybody here a bourgeois? Are the people of Oporto reactionary? If not, then why the barricades? They tried to intimidate with us them. But here we are and we didn't need armored cars to destroy these barricades.

"We came on foot from Batalha Square and we didn't need security cordons, because the power of the Socialist party is the power of the people and of the working masses."

Stalinist Position Undermined

The Stalinists' attempt to use their bureaucratic positions to mobilize the unions against the SP rally failed so completely that it endangered their position as the labor lieutenants of the military regime, even despite the "trade-union unity" law decreed by the government to protect the CP from any outflanking movement.

"Since Saturday," Dominique Pouchin wrote in the July 22 issue of *Le Monde*, "visibly demoralized CP members have been calling for a self-criticism of the northern regional leadership, which went very far in the anti-SP escalation. The CP, of course, can make a quick change in direction, but in this operation it involved a number of union leaderships (thirty-one for the Oporto region alone), which are now going to find themselves in a very difficult position."

After the humiliation of the CP-controlled union leaderships on the weekend of July 18-20, Soares began to refer to Intersindical simply as the "CP's transmission belt," giving it no recognition whatever as an independent or representative workers organization.

In Lisbon, on July 19, SP demonstrators filled the gigantic Afonso Henriques Square, the assembly point for the May Day demonstrations. There were certainly far more people at the SP rally than formed up there last May Day.

Soares told the crowd: "Today is a grave one in the history of our people. After an unprecedented campaign of alarmist rumors, after false stories about a coup attempt and a reactionary plot were spread in an attempt to deceive the people, they set up barricades to prevent the people from the suburbs of Lisbon, deputations of the people of Portugal, from coming here to demonstrate freely in support of freedom, of democracy, of socialism."

Soares Denounces CP

Soares denounced the CP leaders as "paranoics" and said that neither they nor the Intersindical leaders represented the Portuguese people. He criticized the MFA directly for setting up the barricades.

"In Oporto the fanatics of the CP regional leadership also gave orders to paralyze the city, for the shops to close, for transport to stop, to cut down trees and lay them across the roads to block access to the city. But since they were not protected by troops, no one followed their orders.

"Yesterday in Oporto, thirty-one union leaderships gave orders to halt the life of the city, but nothing stopped, nobody obeyed. Here in Lisbon if the



Informations Ouvrières

Mass mobilizations called by Socialist party may well go further than reformist leadership would like.

2. Comando Operacional do Continente—Mainland Portugal Operations Command, the military security forces.

defend democratic rights in Portugal

barricades were not protected by soldiers there would be more than half a million Portuguese here, to take up arms at our side in defense of freedom, of socialism, of the revolution, of democracy."

Reports were broadcast over the loudspeakers of attacks on persons crossing the barricades. "The crowd reacted strongly to these," *Jornal Novo* reported, "shouting 'thugs,' 'people's justice,' and 'action, action.'"

In the midst of his invocations of mass uprisings and the shouts of more than 100,000 people for "action," Soares cautiously noted: "The prime minister entrusted with forming a provisional government does not seem to us to be a factor of national unity."

Nonetheless, this brought a furious response from the Fifth Division, which reiterated that only the MFA had any right to choose the leaders of the country, and the CP launched a campaign in defense of Premier Vasco Gonçalves. The Stalinist-controlled press and broadcasting media were loaded with statements from unions hailing the premier as the "guarantor of people's power." The only noticeable popular demonstration in his defense in this period, however, was in the CP stronghold of Barreiro.

Goon Tactics

In another CP stronghold, Evora, one of the larger towns in the rural proletarian area of Alentejo, the CP reportedly broke up an SP rally on July 26. This indicates that the Stalinists are trying to defend their fiefs by goon tactics. There are two obvious reasons for this. First, they are rapidly becoming discredited. Second, they apparently still think they can count on government support, since the SP is clearly stronger.

The CP would hardly continue using such tactics unless it thought the military would give it enough support to either cow or break the SP. Apparently it is also trying to enlist the ultraleft groups that in their rejection of the SP's campaign for democratic rights handle the Social Democrats as "Social Fascist," whatever their various formulations may be.

Some of these elitist groups have been carried so far by their ultimatum rejection of "bourgeois democracy" and their opportunist adaptation to the "left" military officers that there is a real possibility the Stalinists could use them as goon squads in such an operation.

Perhaps continuing pressure from the Stalinists and their ultraleft advance patrols is one of the reasons the SP reportedly has not yet accepted the new governmental formula and has threatened to continue its mass mobilizations. However, mass action also has its logic and it may be difficult now for the SP leaders to call off the process they started without risking a disastrous loss of momentum and possibly even a split in the party.

This tendency has evidently worried the SP's bourgeois "friends" both inside and outside Portugal. "Millions of Portuguese are suddenly discovering just what a heady feeling opposition to the government can be," the *Economist's* Lisbon correspondent wrote in the July 19 issue of the British capitalist weekly.

Where the momentum of its mass campaign will carry the SP, however, is yet to be determined, since there is no evidence that there is any current able or willing to carry this struggle beyond the very limited objective of pressuring the military government.

What is certain is that the real vanguard of the Portuguese working class at the present time participated in the SP demonstrations. That proletarian vanguard in not to be found

among the ultraleftists who followed a shadow of "people's power" into isolation and even allowed themselves to be used by military demagogues as pawns in a campaign to rob the masses of their democratic rights. Nor were the most intelligent, class-conscious, and courageous sections of the proletariat with the Stalinist myrmidons who were mobilized to sing the praises of military rulers and help deny the majority of the working class the right to demonstrate.

The most courageous and independent-minded sections of the Portuguese proletariat braved furious demagoguery from the Stalinist-controlled media, physical threats from the military, and the demented anathemas of the ultraleftists, to demonstrate their determination not to be intimidated or deluded into giving up their right to political freedom, their right to decide for themselves who will run the coun-

The government has not tried to repress these attacks and probably could not without risking civil war, since powerful local interests are certainly favorable to them.

Although the SP itself has suffered from red-baiting in the backward part of the country, the Stalinists are too determined to pin a black and brown label on the Social Democrats to make a common front with them against the right. For example: This is the way Meira Burguete, an SP activist in Rio Maior, described the origin of one of the worst anti-Communist mob outbreaks. A few persons only, those considered reliable by the local CP organization, got invitations to a meeting of a new farmers organization. Others found out about the meeting, and rumors started going around. It became clear that the organization was dominated by the CP. A group of farmers decided to go to

many foreign left-wing observers as well as the local ultralefts from making a balanced appraisal of the SP rallies and the speeches of party representatives.

The fact is that if the military and the Stalinists succeed in breaking up the Socialist party, they will be preparing the way for an anti-Communist witch-hunt that will prove far wider and deeper than the incidents to date.

Ultraleft Delusions

The delusions of the ultraleftists about the right-wing Social Democracy being the main danger are themselves one of the greatest dangers in the situation, because they lend a greater luster to the CP's sectarian campaign. A right-wing Social Democratic government is not a very likely variant in a country as backward as Portugal. In Greece, a capitalist country in a similar stage of development but under far greater big-power pressure because of its strategic position, there has never been a Social Democratic government. The closest thing to it was the Papandreou government in the mid-1960s that was toppled in short order by an imperialist-sponsored military coup.

The danger in Portugal to the workers movement is precisely the establishment of a military dictatorship under the cover of "left" nationalist demagoguery, which is exactly the outcome the Stalinists and the ultraleftists are doing everything in their power to promote.

Real Situation

The fundamental rights of suffrage and popular sovereignty have already been undermined in the name of "organs of people's power" that are far from representing any real alternative power recognized by the workers. The real stage of the Portuguese revolution is shown by the fact that the reformist leadership of the SP could mobilize hundreds of thousands of toilers in defense of the Constituent Assembly, which is where struggle for these rights focuses for the moment. At the same time, the so-called incipient soviets, even with the support of the military government, could mobilize only a few thousand ultraleftists.

Since the days of the Constituent Assembly seem numbered and its end has apparently been brought even closer by the establishment of the all-powerful triumvirate, the "organs of people's power" used as a pretext by the military rulers may, however, become an important arena of struggle. The fact that the SP and CP are now entering such formations and fostering them has already given them more political reality. If the military proves unable to control the mass mobilizations, even the rigidly controlled structures authorized by the MFA may become the scene of political struggle and thus develop toward real soviets.

But if this process actually develops, the illusions that led the ultraleftists to support the military's moves can become even more diversionary. The most pernicious of these illusions is that such structures in themselves are intrinsically revolutionary and guarantee unity of the working class.

The events in the last two weeks of July have also shown that if the "workers committees" ever do develop into soviets, the hundreds of thousands of toilers who braved demagoguery and intimidation to attend the SP rallies, to declare their independence from the government and their determination to think for themselves, will have advanced the cause of workers power incomparably more than those who, in the name of soviets, served only as pawns of aspiring military dictators.



Ultraleftists demonstrate in Lisbon. They see reformist Social Democrats as main enemy, not the bourgeois state.

try and the workers organizations.

Since the Communist party is the main political supporter of the military's attack on the democratic rights of the masses, it was inevitable that such mass mobilizations would express anti-Communist feelings. Objectively, this was certainly no more reactionary than the denunciations leveled by the Stalinists and the ultraleftists against the SP supporters as "reactionaries," "proimperialists," "enemies of the people," and so on.

In fact, the anti-Communist feeling in the SP demonstrations was less backward, since it was a reaction to real efforts at repression suffered at the hands of the Communist party and its allies. The dogmatic denunciations by the Stalinists and ultraleftists amounted to a demagogic campaign in defense of military rule.

The CP Under Attack

While it is true that the Stalinists in Portugal today stand against the masses and deny them their democratic rights, it is equally true that they do this only by the grace of a bourgeois military government and not on a firm power base of their own. Thus, this policy followed by the Stalinists is suicidal. It has opened the way for a wave of violent mob attacks on CP headquarters throughout the northern two-thirds of the country.

the meeting. The CPers tried to get them to leave. The farmers' suspicions were aroused and fighting broke out.

"Some of them [the CP members] were protected by our comrades, who took them into our headquarters. . . .

"It was at that point that the people went to the headquarters of the CP and the FSP [Frente Socialista Popular—Socialist People's Front, a Stalinist satellite party] and destroyed everything. The SP immediately put out a communiqué deploring the violent incidents and asking why the local CP had not asked for our collaboration in holding the meeting. But what infuriated the people were the reports in the news media attributing the violence to local strongmen and even to political parties, namely the SP, which did everything to keep the worst from happening, even protecting the members of the party that organized the meeting."

The CP reaction was just to say that the SP had attributed the pogrom to a "popular initiative," which showed how reactionary it was. Furthermore, some of the left-inclined foreign correspondents at the rally on July 15 where this report was given apparently paid no attention to what was said but focused on some shouts that the people in Rio Maior knew "how to handle the CP."

Conditioned reflexes seem to keep

Portugal diary

'Barricades couldn't stop this crowd'



Stalinists erected barricades in Oporto to try to prevent Socialist demonstration

[The following firsthand account was sent to the Militant by two revolutionists from the United States who are currently traveling in Portugal. It describes some of the rallies and demonstrations discussed in the article by Gerry Foley on pages 3-5.]

By Becky Finch and Gus Horowitz

July 14—Arrival in Lisbon. It is a hot summer afternoon and a crisis mood is in the air. Last week the MFA [Movimento das Forças Armadas—Armed Forces Movement] unveiled plans for a new "Aliança Povo-MFA" [People-MFA Alliance]. The MFA says it will now rule on the basis of organs of people's power, bypassing the Constituent Assembly. In response, the Socialist party ministers have withdrawn from the government.

The newspaper headlines convey an atmosphere of high political drama. Inside are stories about meetings of the new people's assemblies sponsored by the MFA, and about the activities of many different workers organizations. Among the advertisements are some placed by workers organizations in the factories, stating their positions on the political issues of the day.

Many people in the street carry two or three papers. On the sidewalk, the newsstands are selling *República*, the former Socialist daily, which was taken over several weeks ago by the workers in the printing plant who disagreed with its line. The new *República* has been appearing for a few days now under a government-appointed administrator.

Everybody talks politics

In the Rossio, the main square in town, people stand in groups, talking, arguing. Even people who don't speak Portuguese can catch a few words now and then, so you know they are all talking politics.

There's a car parked by the sidewalk with blankets for sale. A sign on the car says that these are workers from the blanket factory who have taken over the plant.

Leaflets are strewn all over the street. There will be a Socialist party rally tomorrow; on the following day, a demonstration of factory and neighborhood commissions.

July 15—Rua de São Pedro de Alcântara, the street where the Socialist party headquarters is located, is set high on a hill overlooking the center of Lisbon. Approaching the SP demonstration this evening, we see that a large crowd is jammed into a three-

block area, spilling over into most of the adjoining park.

Raising their fists and waving the SP's red flags, the people have come in response to a call for the ranks of the SP to "support the national secretariat of the party." This is the first show of strength by the SP since it has left the government. When SP leader Mário Soares speaks later on, the crowd will roar, "Soares, amigo, PS está contigo" [Soares, friend, the SP is with you]. He is a fine orator, and though he speaks late into the night, he holds the crowd.

It appears that the major reason people have come tonight is out of loyalty to the SP and a desire to protest the antidemocratic attacks against it. The chant "PS, PS, PS" is taken up again and again. It is the main theme of the evening.

Five slogans were inscribed on the leaflets passed out today to publicize the demonstration: "Against the totalitarianism of pseudo-revolutionary minorities; For the defense of democratic liberties; For respect of the people's will; No to demagoguery and anarcho-populism; Concrete solutions to the problems of the Portuguese people."

Opposition to MFA

There is one slogan, not on the leaflet, that is shouted by the crowd. "O povo já não está com o MFA" [The people are no longer with the MFA]. We have never heard of such a slogan being raised in Portugal before. We read in the papers the next day that expressions of this sentiment were hastily cut off by the SP leaders. "It is important that the people be reconciled with the MFA," said Manuel Alegre, a national leader of the SP, "on condition that the MFA really respect the will of the people." Soares speaks in the same vein.

We see a paper with a *República* masthead on it. But it looks different



Socialist party head Mário Soares. He urged angry crowd in Lisbon to have confidence in junta.

from the daily paper we have seen on the newsstands. In connection with the SP campaign, the journalists of the old, SP *República* have published a special issue called *Jornal do Caso República* [Journal of the República Case]. Looking at it over one man's shoulder, we see that it contains an article by Leon Trotsky on workers democracy and freedom of the press that had been published a few weeks ago in *Intercontinental Press*. We rush to get our own copies, for the crowds are gobbling them up as fast as they are brought.

We look for the leaflets of the various left radical groups that we have heard about. But they are not here. Have they no interest in reaching the supporters of the SP?

There are 20,000 to 30,000 people here tonight, a sizable crowd, but not really that many, considering that the SP is the largest party in Portugal. We leave the rally as the crowds are again chanting, "Acção! Acção!" [Action! Action!], and we remember that the SP has called for a nationwide mobilization of its forces. What will be the result?

July 16—Snaking through the narrow streets of Lisbon, fists thrust in the air, the 6,000-7,000 demonstrators chant, "Control operário, poder popular" [Workers' control, people's power]. In front are more than 100 soldiers in uniform.

Behind them come the others, tightly marshaled under banners identifying workers' and neighborhood commissions, or banners with the official themes of the demonstration: for workers' control, for people's power, for a revolutionary government, dissolve the Constituent Assembly, against capitalism, for proletarian unity. There are some MFA flags too. Today's *República* has announced that one of the official slogans is "Unity of the workers with the progressives of the MFA."

We have read that the workers commissions are widespread throughout the factories of Lisbon. But clearly this demonstration, despite participation from several dozen workers' and neighborhood commissions, represents only a part of the working class. We are told that these are the commissions in which the MES [Movimento de Esquerda Socialista—Movement of the Socialist Left], UDP [União Democrática do Povo—People's Democratic Union], and other small left groups play an active part.

None of the banners bear the name of any organization, but most of the small left groups must be here, since we had seen them, all except the Maoists, passing out leaflets at the

assembly point. There are some Communist party people here too, but the CP, as such, is not sponsoring the demonstration.

Constituent Assembly

The destination had not been announced in the prior publicity. Part way up a hill, the man leading the march stops and holds up his hand. Is it only our imagination, or does he pause a few seconds longer than usual before beginning the next chant?

The effect is dramatic as he shouts into the bullhorn, "Dissolução da Constituinte já!" [Dissolve the Constituent Assembly now!]. The marchers take this up with renewed vigor as the front contingent moves forward excitedly. We turn the corner, and then we know our destination—the Palácio da Assembleia Nacional, the governmental building where the Constituent Assembly meets.

Not a single policeman is guarding the building, but the demonstrators advance only to the top of the front steps. There they add another chant, "MFA-poder popular!" [MFA-people's power!].

The chanting continues, interspersed with speeches. Then we hear heavy, clanking noises. Approaching us are six large armored vehicles. They drive straight up to the building on either side of it. The crowd cheers and runs to the tanks. The people will climb up on them, talking and mingling with the soldiers.

The soldiers are from several units, including RALis, the famous "red regiment" of Copcon [Comando Operacional do Continente—Mainland Portugal Operations Command, the military security forces].

Later we talk with one soldier who tells us that they had held an assembly, officers and men, and had decided to come to the demonstration. On one of the tanks is a banner reading, "Morte ao Fascismo, os Soldados também São Explorados, Abaixo a Exploração Capitalista, Por um Governo Apartidário." [Death to Fascism, Soldiers are also Exploited, Down with Capitalist Exploitation, For a Non-party Government.]

Crisis intensifies

July 17—The morning headlines scream out the news: the PPD [Partido Popular Democrático—Democratic People's party] has just left the government. The political crisis is intensified. The MFA's Council of the Revolution is in session. A government leader has been sent to Angola, where renewed fighting has resumed between the MPLA [Movimento Popular de Libertação de Angola—People's Movement for

the Liberation of Angola] and the FNLA [Frente Nacional de Libertação de Angola—Angolan National Liberation Front].

We get the foreign papers, which are a few days old. They report that over the weekend the Catholic church has led a big demonstration in the northern city of Aveiro. The Communist party charges that reactionary forces are mobilizing.

July 18—We take the train to Oporto, the second city of Portugal and the big industrial center of the north. Here is concentrated an important part of the Portuguese working class.

Arrival past noon, just as the shops are closing for the afternoon break. But the city seems unusually busy. Cars filled with young people, decked out with SP flags, drive through the streets with horns blowing and loudspeakers blaring. Another group drives a panel truck fitted with red flags, loudspeakers, and stark black-and-white posters bearing the slogan, "Poder Popular" [People's Power].

Tense atmosphere

At Praça da Liberdade, the city's central square, several political groups have set up kiosks where they distribute literature. By 3:00 p.m. hundreds of people are gathered here. They stand in groups arguing fervently, more heatedly than we saw in Lisbon. The verbal fights threaten to break out of control. It is by far the most tense atmosphere we have yet experienced.

Dozens of leaflets are thrust on us, and we move off to sift through them. Here we find the reason for the mobilization. As part of its country-wide "north-to-south" campaign, the SP has called a rally for 9:30 that evening. A single slogan appears on the SP leaflet: "É preciso respeitar a vontade popular" [The people's will must be respected]. Mário Soares and Raul Rêgo will speak.

All the other leaflets call for participation in the "poder popular" demonstration, sponsored by workers' and neighborhood commissions. It is supported by all the small left-wing groups, including the Maoists.

But there is a new element in Oporto. The Communist party has just decided to come in on the "poder popular" demonstration in a big way. The CP and the CP-controlled union federation, Intersindical, brand the SP rally as a mobilization of reaction. To counter it, they call for a show of force at the workers commission demonstration.

A CP leaflet, distributed on a massive scale, attacks the SP rally in violent terms: "The meeting of the SP is only a pretext for an invasion of the city by false socialists, marching hand in hand with the assassins of the [right-wing] ELP, the 'caciques' of the PPD, the 'gorillas' of the CDS and all the scum of the ex-informers, ex-legionnaires, ex-Salazarists, ex-ANP and ex-PIDE. Their immediate objectives are to spark a wave of violence and provocation."

Barricades

To repulse this threat, the CP calls on the workers of Oporto to erect barricades at all the entrances of the city. "Block the march of reaction," the CP leaflet cries out, "at whatever the cost!"

We arrive at Praça Humberto Delgado at 7:30, just as the workers commission demonstration is forming up.

From Praça da Liberdade, just below us, a Maoist group is coming. They advance up the street at a half jog, marshaled into tight formation, shouting slogans, raising their fists, and bearing red flags and banners.

As they jog around the end of the square, through a narrow street, the chants of the 2,000 or so Maoists bounce off the buildings and echo with impressive thunder, making their num-

bers seem larger than they really are. They fall in behind the contingent of workers' and neighborhood commissions.

Many of the banners simply identify a workers' or neighborhood commission. Others demand workers' control and people's power. The lead banner is huge. It shows a cartoon of workers routing the right-wing terrorist ELP and its backers, the CIA and the capitalists; the slogan on this banner reads, "A Reação Não Passará!" [The reaction will not pass!].

Behind the lead banner are a dozen red flags. Other banners say "Democracia para o Povo, ditadura para a burguesia!" [Democracy for the People, dictatorship for the bourgeoisie!] and "Dissolução Imediata da Assembleia Constituinte!" [Dissolve the Constituent Assembly Immediately!]. There are two large MFA flags. At the very front of the march is a Portuguese flag.

The marchers, ten abreast, stretch all the way up the street on one side of the rectangular open space, and back around another side—taking up one-half the perimeter. There are perhaps 10,000 in all.

Lining the streets are hundreds and hundreds of spectators, their reaction unenthusiastic, even hostile. Many of them are wearing buttons of the SP. Now and then small groups of people come by with SP flags. But there is no confrontation. They simply observe for a while and then move on.

The demonstrators, fists raised and chanting, "A reação não passará," begin the march.

But it is 9:00 p.m., time to leave for the SP rally. It is to be held at the Estádio das Antas, the big stadium at the outer edge of town. At the bus stop in the central square people are lined up for half a block. Many people are

setting out on foot.

We're lucky to get on the bus; it is jam-packed. But it makes no stops—neither to discharge nor to pick up passengers. Everyone is headed for the stadium. At each of the bus stops along the way there are groups of people waiting. They cheer the bus that passes them by.

We see people coming out of their houses on the side streets. First they are a trickle, then they become small groups, and then join the ever denser crowd moving up the main street toward the stadium. People hang out of the houses lining the street, and they cheer. Later we will learn that the CP barricades were a fiasco. But already it is clear that no barricades could have stopped this crowd.

Reactionary mobilization?

Can this be the mobilization of reaction, as the CP has charged? In the stadium, we look over the people filling up the seats. Old people, women, families with children, men dressed in business suits, men dressed in work clothes, and young people—thousands and thousands of young people—it seems like the human flood will never stop.

Many of them carry red flags emblazoned with a clenched fist in a circle. Around the circle are the words "Partido Socialista." This is the flag of the SP. As they pour into the stadium, their chants build up to a roar that will sound through the night: "PS, PS, PS/PS, PS, PS."

Over and over, they shout it out. Another chant, "É preciso respeitar a vontade popular!" This, the theme of the evening, will also ring out again and again. So, too, will "Liberdade! Justiça! Partido Socialista!"

There is a mood of jubilation as

people feel the power of their numbers. "Vitória! Vitória!" they shout. By 10:00 the stadium is filled. We are told that it seats 45,000. But still the people are coming.

An announcement is made over the loudspeaker. Everyone must stand and move back to make room for others. The lumbering mass complies. "Assim se conhece a força do PS!" ["So, you see the power of the SP!"]. Later, the gates to the playing field are opened, and the crowd begins to fill up the track.

Throughout the rally the crowd will interrupt the speeches with chanting, clenched fists raised high and red flags waving. There are thousands and thousands of the SP's red flags, but only a few other symbols: a scattering of Portuguese flags; occasional banners identifying a group of workers, or a Juventude Socialista group, the youth group of the SP. All of these, however, tend to get lost in the sea of red flags.

No MFA emblems

We look up and down, in all directions, but nowhere do we see an MFA emblem. In contrast to Lisbon, though, we do not hear the shout, "O povo já não está com o MFA" [The people are no longer with the MFA]. The SP leadership has apparently been quick to head this off.

Several speakers, addressing themselves to the workers in the crowd, denounce the CP leadership of Intersindical for functioning bureaucratically. The speakers call for the independence and autonomy of the mass organizations.

As the rally proceeds, the chant "Abaixo o comunismo" [Down with communism] appears frequently. The speakers charge the CP with violating freedom of expression in the República affair.

"Abaixo Cunhal!" shouts out the well-dressed man in front of us along with the others. He turns to repeat it to us to make sure we get it right. We had noticed earlier that he had not always joined in on the previous chants; but on this one he was enthusiastic.

Perhaps he is from the PPD, the main bourgeois party, which, we are told, has also mobilized its forces for the SP rally. Or perhaps he supports one of the far-right groups that are gathering their forces again. We have read reports that in some of the smaller northern towns, the CP headquarters have been sacked by mobs. Even here in Oporto, later tonight, a small group of people will burn down the CP kiosk in the central square.

Pro-Socialist crowd

The anti-CP chants have developed only after the speakers began. Still, the dominant theme of the chants remains pro-SP, pro-democracy. The speakers attack the CP for trampling on democratic rights, and the crowd shouts "Socialismo sim, ditadura não!" [Socialism yes, dictatorship no!].—also a popular theme. At one point, when a speaker is answering the CP charge that the SP is counterrevolutionary, the crowd chants, "Partido Socialista, Partido Marxista!" This slogan is also inscribed on two big banners at the corners of the playing field.

We do not hear any chants referring to the Constituent Assembly by name, but we notice that it is mentioned in the first of six slogans on a mass-circulated leaflet we have been handed, calling on the people of Oporto to go to Lisbon for another SP rally tomorrow. The slogan reads, "For the defense of the Constituent Assembly, expression of the people's will."

It is well past midnight when we leave. Mário Soares has been speaking for a while. Long lines of people are beginning to leave, but the stadium is still filled. Outside, there are still a couple of thousand people standing, listening to the speeches. They had never even gotten into the stadium.



O Comércio do Porto

This combined demonstration of Stalinists and ultraleftists in Oporto drew 10,000, compared with Socialist demonstration at least five times as large.

Why Detroit Black ghetto exploded

By Hattie McCutcheon,
Baxter Smith,
and B.R. Washington

DETROIT, July 30—Obie Wynn, an eighteen-year-old Black man, lies dead today. Andrew Chinarian, the white owner of a neighborhood bar, shot him down in a rage because he was sitting on the hood of Chinarian's car.

The July 28 shooting, in the Livernois-Fenkell area of the city, has touched off two nights of angry street protests by area residents. The protests have been met with police brutality, bringing more than 100 arrests and scores of injuries.

Livernois-Fenkell, a nearly all-Black area in Northwest Detroit, is three miles from the scene of the 1967 rebellion that left forty-three dead and hundreds injured. But in many ways, the conditions that triggered that revolt are worse today. Black unemployment here is close to 35 percent.

\$500 bond

Much of the community resentment has been focused on the soft treatment the authorities have accorded Chinarian. An hour after he was picked up, the cops released him without filing any charges.

It was not until the next morning, July 29, that he was charged with second-degree murder—murder "with malice but not premeditation." He was released on \$500 bond.

As news of Chinarian's release spread through the Livernois area, knots of angered residents gathered on street corners. This prompted police to reconsider the wisdom of having released the murderer so easily. But a cop search to find him was fruitless for several hours, and this only angered residents more.

"You let a brother kill a white man and see how quick he gets out of jail—if he ever gets there in the first place," one resident said.

Chinarian, who is known as a cop hanger-on, is described as a bad-tempered racist by community residents. He owns Bolton's Bar and Grill, which is largely off limits to Blacks and is a cop hangout.

"He knew half the cops in town," one resident said. "They went in his bar all the time."

One former employee of a nearby store recalled that Chinarian would sometimes commit acts of racist devilment for kicks. Once, he said, Chinarian let the air out of the tires of a delivery van belonging to the Black owner of a nearby establishment.

Official version

According to Chinarian's version—which the cops support—of how the shooting occurred, Chinarian was tending bar when someone came in and told him several Blacks were tampering with his car outside.

Chinarian then went outside to investigate, he says. All the supposed culprits fled except for Wynn. The

youth allegedly turned and lunged at Chinarian with a "glinting object" that Chinarian says was a knife. Chinarian claims he drew a pistol and fired in self-defense—although the autopsy showed that Wynn died from bullet wounds from behind, in the back of the head.

Militant reporters, in interviews with community residents, uncovered a story contradicting the official one.

Twenty-three-year-old Jimmy Lawhorn was with Wynn at the time of the shooting.

Lawhorn and Wynn and a couple of others were sitting on Chinarian's car outside the bar.

"Then," Lawhorn said, "without warning or anything, this dude rushes out with a shotgun and shoots." Wynn was hit as the others dived for cover.

"It all happened so quick. The guy didn't say anything, argue, or nothing. Then he ran back inside and locked the door."

Other witnesses interviewed corroborated Lawhorn's account.

Fired at crowd

Immediately after the shooting, a crowd of community residents surrounded the bar, which is bounded by an alley and parking lots, and de-



YOUNG: Says 'hoodlums and rip-off artists' are behind protests.

manded that Chinarian surrender himself.

A police radio car arrived on the scene. The cops in it, after assessing the situation, drew handguns and fired above or into the crowd.

Lawhorn saw a small boy, about eight years old, pitch over, felled by a bullet or by ricocheting debris.

The cops claim the crowd then turned on them, forcing them to call for reinforcements. Street protests ensued, and sixty-three were arrested and nine were injured.

The next day, July 29, Detroit's Black mayor, Coleman Young, and Police Chief Philip Tannian appealed for order. Young held a news conference and said that rebellions "will not be tolerated."

"We're not going to allow anybody to tear up this city," he said. Young said that "hoodlums and rip-off artists" are responsible for the protests.

Later in the day, at about five o'clock, Young went to the Livernois area to try to calm the angry residents.

Tannian preceded Young to the area, but community residents chased him off, giving him no hearing.

Young, who the *Detroit Free Press* says has "a reservoir of contacts that stretches from the hood on the corner to the elite of Detroit's Black society," tried a different approach.

Young leaped atop a parked car. "The court did us no favor by setting a \$500 bond," he charged, hoping to dissipate the just anger of the residents. "It's the same bond you get for loitering—and here this guy killed a man."

But Young's appeal wasn't working. Residents confronted him with instances of cop brutality from the night before.

"There have probably been greater provocations than have been reported. Some police don't know any other way than using their sticks," Young said. "We're going to have that problem until we get a representative police department."

Later, he added, "I know there are provocations. A white cop shot a gas grenade at me last night. We'll have all the Black cops out there tonight that we can get. There are just not enough to go around."

But as far as this crowd was concerned there were enough. More than enough. And someone had apparently heard enough from the mayor, because a bottle went sailing toward him and popped in the street. Young got down, lingered for a few more moments, then got in his car and sped away.

The world is watching

By nine o'clock last night 200 Young supporters had formed a task force. Comprised of officials from the United Auto Workers, AFL-CIO unions, and the NAACP, the task force was on the streets hoping to cool the situation and prevent further embarrassment for the mayor.

One task force member was telling residents, "Keep your cool, the whole world is looking at you."

The news media here, including Black radio reporters, have repeated false accounts of the events and minimized the depth of the anger felt by the Black community, all in an effort to protect Young.

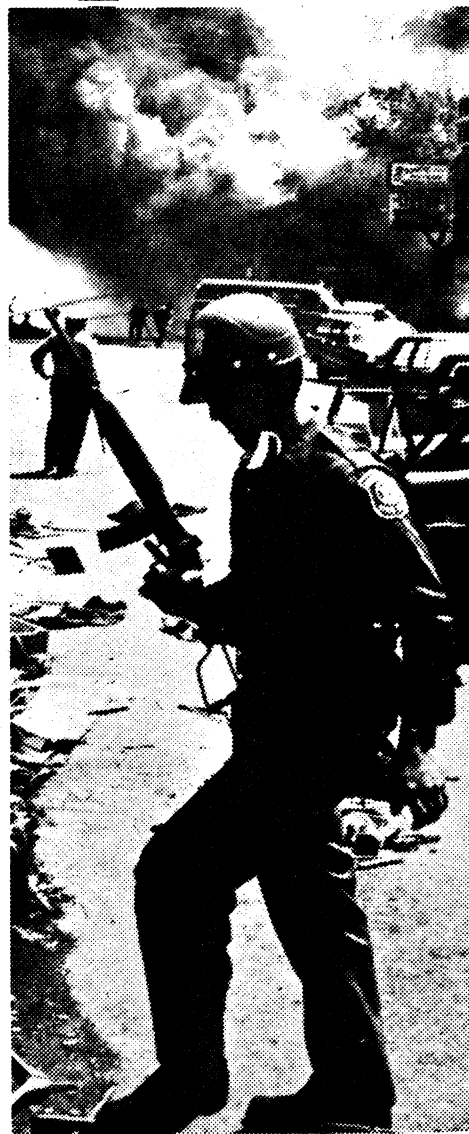
It was promised that the 1973 election of Young would be a victory for Blacks in this majority-Black city, just as the election of Black mayors in other largely Black cities was promised to be. But the election of Young was actually part of a ruling-class strategy developed following the urban rebellions of the 1960s to push the election of Black mayors as the best way to contain Black militancy.

The memory of the massive ghetto revolt of 1967 is strong here. And the rulers know that nothing fundamental has changed in the past eight years. Above all, they fear a repetition of that rebellion.

In contrast to the attempts by Young's supporters to "keep it cool" by covering up for the cops, the Detroit Student Coalition Against Racism, in a leaflet announcing a picket line at police headquarters later this week, said, "The only way to bring 'calm' to the area is by removing the immediate problem—the cops. It is the cops who always provoke these incidents, as they did in '67 with their racist violence and 'over-reaction.'"

The leaflet also demands the dropping of all charges against those Blacks arrested and calls for an investigation by an independent Black commission of inquiry.

Although Tannian and Young stated



Detroit, 1967. Nothing has changed since.

that cops would be acting "professionally," as usual, this translated into extensive use of the stick, the fist, and the boot.

About 10:30 last night, cops began heaving tear gas at residents on the corners, causing them to scurry for cover. Any residents trapped and left helpless by the gas were arrested. Some were beaten.

Motorists passing through the area were ordered out, and on at least one occasion, when a man didn't move fast enough, a white cop yanked his car open and pulled him out, cracking his head against the door.

For several hours afterwards cops menaced residents and displayed strong-arm tactics. One teen-ager on his bicycle going to a store reported that cops suddenly sprang on him. They knocked him to the ground, he

Continued on page 26

Pushers in blue

DETROIT—Drug pushers and rapists in this town, its residents are learning, often come in blue uniforms and masquerade as defenders of the law.

For the past four weeks, nine Detroit cops from the Livernois precinct, site of the present rebellion, have been on trial for drug trafficking.

The prosecution has lined up some 150 witnesses against the cops. Three of those on trial are sergeants, and one is head of the precinct narcotics unit. The trial has drawn overflow crowds.

Meanwhile, just this week another Detroit cop was charged with four counts of rape. This cop, who spent a year and a half on the vice squad, was uniformed when he raped two twenty-three-year-old women in the back of a pickup truck.



Unemployed auto workers. Detroit jobless rate for Blacks is close to 35 percent.

Spawned by antibusing drive

Boston lynch mob terrorizes Blacks

By Jon Hillson

BOSTON—The racist frenzy whipped up here by the enemies of school desegregation has once again reached the point of lynch-mob terror against Blacks.

On Sunday, July 27, six Black salesmen from out of town were attacked on a beach in South Boston by a white mob out for blood.

"We'd been working all week, and we just wanted to come to the beach and enjoy ourselves," said James Barrowright. The six were unaware that "Southie" is the center of the racist hysteria against court-ordered school desegregation.

"Next thing we know, all we see is white faces calling us niggers and telling us to get out of here," said Barrowright.

As the frenzied mob, armed with pipes and clubs, grew to 100, the six men ran from the beach to their parked car. When they found the doors locked they split up and fled down the streets with the racists in hot pursuit.

Robert Jackson, one of the six, was cornered by part of the mob, backed up against a chain link fence, and beaten with boards and pipes. Police who had been called to the scene broke through the crowd and rescued Jackson, who was dripping with blood. He was hospitalized with head, rib, and leg injuries.

Police units scoured the area to find the other five men who were being chased by the racists. The other men

were finally evacuated by the cops.

Meanwhile the white thugs had destroyed the Black men's car, smashing out all its windows and throwing a garbage can into it.

'Maybe in Mississippi'

After the ordeal, Major Lawson, the supervisor of the salesmen, said, "I'm thirty-two and I've never heard of a racial situation like this. I mean, maybe in Mississippi or Alabama, you expect it—but here?"

"Right now we're just waiting for our man to get out of the hospital and we'll get the hell out of here. There is a much more serious problem here than I thought there was."

Infuriated that their "prey" had gotten away, one gang of racists would not give up. They waylaid Robert Bumpers, a Black worker in a Greyhound bus garage on the edge of South Boston. As Bumpers left the garage after work, six men jumped him and beat him with pipes and sticks. Bumpers managed to escape and lock himself in a bus until police could come and rescue him. None of his attackers were arrested.

Only two of the 100 who participated in the attack on the salesmen were arrested. Two white men were charged with "assault and battery with a dangerous weapon."

The FBI has announced that it is launching an investigation into the mob attack for "possible violations of the U.S. civil rights code." The Metropolitan District Commission, which oversees "safety" at recreational areas, is also conducting an investigation.

'Mayor responsible'

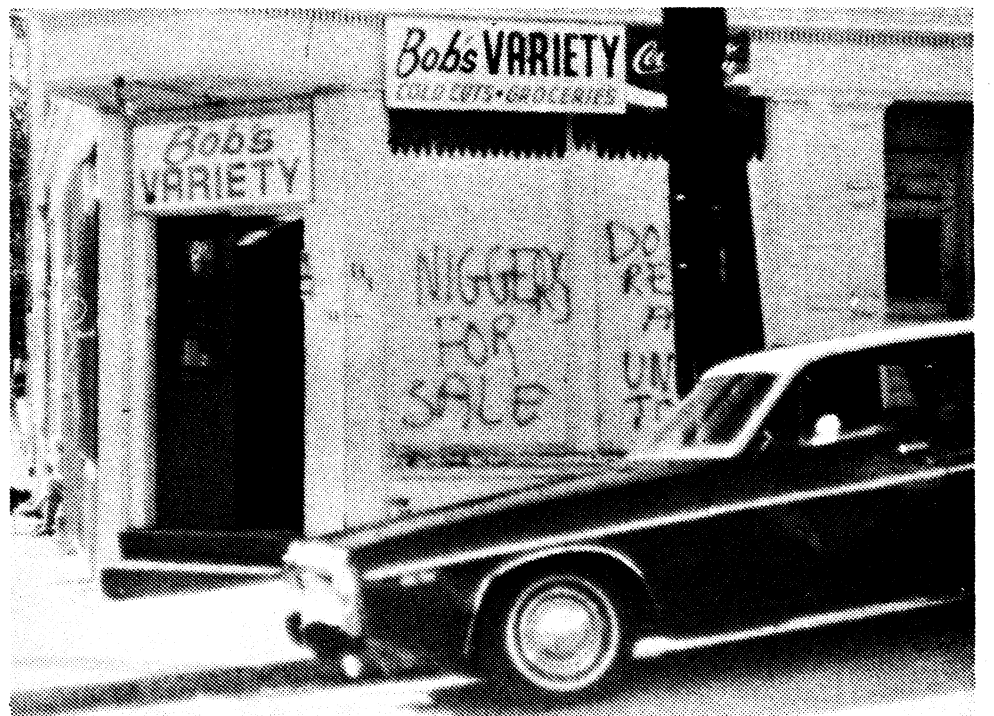
Norman Oliver, Socialist Workers party candidate for mayor of Boston, told the *Militant*:

"The responsibility for the near lynchings rests squarely on the shoulders of the police and the Democratic city administration headed by Mayor Kevin White.

"This racist terror is the logical culmination of the pattern of racist violence and organized harassment that has been taking place over the summer and has met with inaction on the part of the 'forces of law and order.'"

"The white mobs know that the mayor, city council, and cops are as opposed to school desegregation as they are. By its inaction, the city administration has given the signal that it's 'open season' on Blacks."

At a July 29 news conference called



Militant/Fred Halstead

Racist graffiti on store near South Boston beach where lynch mob attacked six Blacks.

by the Boston Student Coalition Against Racism, Leon Rock, youth advisory director of the Boston NAACP, recounted the campaign of terror that has taken place. Blacks have been beaten and mugged repeatedly in the subway stations near "Southie" and have had their cars stoned while driving through it. There have been previous attacks on the beach, to the point where local Black residents stay clear of it. In other areas of the city whites have fire bombed and stoned Black homes.

In spite of repeated demands by the Black community that the police and city administration act to stop the racist terror, Rock said, "we know the mayor and the police have done nothing."

Boston SCAR coordinator Mac Warren, who also spoke at the news conference, said, "We have to force the law enforcement agencies to enforce the law. September is just around the corner. That's when Phase Two of desegregation goes into effect, and the antibusing bigots have promised chaos and violence."

He announced that a Commission of Inquiry on Racist Violence will be held August 2. Its purpose, he said, will be to "offer a forum for all Black and Puerto Rican residents of Boston who have been victims of racist attacks to come forward and testify, for the first

time—to tell their story of the day-to-day racist violence that they face in Boston."

Protect Blacks

Warren said the commission would make recommendations to "the mayor, governor, and to the federal government if need be, to ensure that Blacks are protected against racist violence."

Rock urged wide participation in the commission as "an important step in getting out the truth about what is happening in Boston."

Speakers at the commission will include, among others, Ed Redd, executive director of the Boston NAACP; Percy Wilson, director of the Roxbury Multi-Service Center; Obalajii Rest, Columbia Point Community Task Force director; and Gloria Joyner, director, Community Task Force on Education. Also, Ellen Feingold, president, Massachusetts Civil Liberties Union; Patricia Bonner-Lyons, Aswalos House; Hector Ruiz, Cooper Community Center; Maceo Dixon, coordinator, National Student Coalition Against Racism; James Rowe, news director, WILD; and John Boone, president, National Campaign Against Prisons.

Sponsored by Boston SCAR, the commission will take place at the Elma Lewis School, 122 Elm Hill Avenue, in Roxbury, at noon on August 2.



Militant/Ernest Harsch

MAC WARREN: 'Blacks must be protected from racist violence.'

Socialist candidates defend school busing

By Craig Stevens

BOSTON—At an open candidates' night sponsored by Boston Citizens for Participation in Political Action July 10, Socialist Workers party candidates Jon Hillson and Deborah Clifford stood out as the only contenders for city office taking a forthright stand in favor of school desegregation.

Although the Phase Two busing plan in Boston is clearly the number one issue facing the city this year, most of the speakers completely ignored the question. Both Hillson and Clifford, however, began their remarks with the busing issue.

The next day's *Boston Globe* pointed to city council candidate Hillson's statement in support of federal troops to enforce the court order.

"We support Phase Two because it is a big step forward to breaking down

the system of deliberately organized segregation that [Federal District Judge Arthur] Garrity noted in his decision last year," Hillson said.

If elected to the school committee, Clifford states, she would "urge the use of all force necessary—including federal troops—to enforce the Garrity ruling." She continued, "I support the NAACP suit against the at-large system of electing the school committee because that system does not allow for Black representation. I would see to it that the school committee helped build marches like that which occurred on May 17 to support the peaceful desegregation effort, not destroy it."

Of the eleven candidates, for city council at the meeting, only one other besides Hillson even mentioned his stand on busing. That was Joseph McCarthy, who proudly proclaimed his

membership in the antibusing group ROAR (Restore Our Alienated Rights). He said that in his opinion the liberals were leading Boston toward "socialism and communism."

The one Black city council hopeful present, Clarence Dilday, called for "new perspectives" and spoke about representing the whole city. But he too completely avoided the issue of desegregation.

When SWP candidate Hillson was asked what a city council member could actually do about the school situation, he answered, "From day one I would be on the phone to the Justice Department demanding investigation and prosecution of city council members who have consciously collaborated with racist ROAR to map out the disruption of the law of the land,

which forbids segregation in education."

Both socialists exposed the hypocrisy of those who argue that the racist position is really just for "neighborhood schools." Clifford asked, "If that were true, why have people in South Boston hurled rocks at their neighbors from Columbia Point [an all-Black section adjacent to South Boston] who attended South Boston High?"

The other major political issue that the SWP candidates injected into the candidates' night was that of a woman's right to abortion and the defense of Dr. Kenneth Edelin, a Black doctor convicted for performing an abortion. Hillson declared, "The city council is a chamber of reaction. It set in motion the persecution and prosecution of Kenneth Edelin. We demand such charges be dropped."

N.Y.: testing ground

The Democrats and Republicans have one "solution" to the budget crisis facing New York and other cities: slash services, lay off workers, and cut wages. Their aim is to force working people to bear the burden of the capitalist economic crisis. New York City has become the testing ground for this nationwide assault on social services and public employee unions.

To resolve the present crisis in the interests of working people, the Socialist Workers party calls for:

- **Halt all U.S. war spending and use the \$100 billion military budget to provide jobs and social services in New York and other cities.** Just last week, while Washington was turning down aid to New York City, the Democratic-controlled Congress voted another \$3.6 billion increase in weapons procurement and military research.

- **Halt all government interest payments to the rich.** "Debt service" eats up \$37 billion in the federal budget and \$2 billion in the New York City budget. There should be a complete moratorium on these payments so long as the needs of the poor are unmet.

- **Launch a massive, emergency public works program to provide millions of jobs.** There is more than enough socially useful work to provide jobs for all—building low-cost housing, schools, child-care centers, and medical facilities.

- **Open the books of the banks, corporations, and all government agencies.** Working people have the right to see for ourselves the financial manipulations and profiteering at public expense that are really behind the "budget crisis."

- **Provide a cost-of-living escalator clause for all wages and social benefits so that they are kept fully abreast of rising prices.**

- **Abolish all restrictions on the right of public employees to organize, bargain collectively, and strike.** Repeal the Taylor Act in New York.

The trade unions—together with the allies they can win—have the power to win these demands. But their power is dissipated and wasted through the futile policy of relying on "friendly" Democratic and Republican politicians—the very

To fight effectively for the interests of working people, the labor movement should break with the two capitalist parties and launch an independent labor party. Mobilizing the union ranks and all other victims of the cutbacks in united mass marches and rallies to demand *no cutbacks, no layoffs, and no wage cuts* would be a powerful step toward that goal.

'Citizen Lee'?

At least nobody can accuse Congress of goofing off while there are vital issues to be dealt with. After weighty deliberation and, no doubt, profound soul-searching, the House of Representatives voted overwhelmingly July 22 to restore full citizenship rights to Robert E. Lee. The same measure was unanimously endorsed by the Senate last April.

Now there is nothing legally preventing Lee, dead for 105 years, from voting, running for public office, or engaging in the occupation of his choice.

The House chambers resounded with praise for the commander of the Southern slave owners' rebellion. "If Robert E. Lee is not worthy of being a United States citizen," intoned Republican M. Caldwell Butler of Virginia, "then who is?" Who, indeed. The legislators at any rate have definite ideas on who is not entitled to the rights of U.S. citizenship.

Congress has never seen fit, for example, to grant real amnesty to the thousands of men living in exile because they refused to fight Washington's illegal and immoral war in Vietnam.

And what about the prisoners across the country who are denied their legal and political rights? The rehabilitation of the racist Southern general must have sparked many a bitter comment among Black inmates.

Congress never bothered to restore the rights of Farrell Dobbs and the other leaders of the Socialist Workers party and the Minneapolis Teamsters who were railroaded to prison in 1944 for their opposition to the imperialist war. These victims of the unconstitutional Smith "thought control" Act included James P. Cannon, founder of the American Trotskyist movement, who to the day he died last year was barred from voting for being a "convicted felon."

But in a way the Democrats' and Republicans' gesture of solidarity with the slave South was fitting. For today they too represent a historically outmoded system. And their Appomattox is coming.

Joanne Little-I

I would like to thank the *Militant* very much for sending me the paper. I also had to respond on such a fantastic job that you are doing on Sister Joanne Little.

I am very proud to read such a wonderful paper letting the people on the inside know what's happening. A prisoner
Pennsylvania

Joanne Little-II

A rally in support of Joanne Little was held July 14 in Lexington, Kentucky, attended by about 300 people. It was sponsored by the Lexington Socialist Feminist Union, the Student Coalition Against Racism, and the Rape Crisis Center.

Janine Cataldo of the LSFU likened Little's case to that of Jill Raymond, a woman jailed for refusing to cooperate with a grand jury.

Betty Rudnick of the Rape Crisis Center pointed out that the prosecution in Little's case would try to take advantage of popular misconceptions about rape. The prosecution would try to discredit Little by claiming that she lured Clarence Alligood (the guard she is accused of killing) into her jail cell.

Mark Manning of the Student Coalition Against Racism also spoke.

The rally was covered in a front-page feature story in the *Kentucky Kernel*, an independent student newspaper at the University of Kentucky. We sold twenty-one copies of the *Young Socialist* and eight *Militants* at the rally—all we had with us. After going through the crowd once, I sold the rest of the papers as people approached me with their quarters.

Mary Zins
Cleveland, Ohio

Women & the Klan

I am writing with regard to Linda Jenness's article in the June 27 *Militant* in which she correctly points out that the Ku Klux Klan is politically the antithesis of feminism, in spite of the recent influx of women into leadership of that organization, and that the KKK remains "an enemy to be fought and destroyed."

Her column was a critical review of an article by Judy Klemesrud, "Women in Ku Klux Klan Move Into the Male Power Structure."

I believe there is a point that was missed or misinterpreted. Jenness states, "Klemesrud reports . . . this as though there is something progressive about it. Worse yet, she reports it as though it has something to do with women's liberation."

The point of Klemesrud's article was not that the Klan was a progressive force because women were becoming more active in its leadership, but rather that even the KKK, that archetypal bastion of reaction and bigotry, was itself forced to respond to pressures that have resulted from consistent and pervasive demands of the women's movement.

While it is true that having women in the leadership of the Klan does not, by some form of "feminist osmosis," change its political nature, just as General Motors or U.S. Steel are not changed by the presence of a few women or Blacks in nontraditional positions, I do believe that organizational/institutional changes in this direction are a reflection of the tremendously radical character and depth of the women's liberation movement.

The questions and demands posed by this movement are deeply affecting

mass consciousness and every aspect of culture, including the KKK; these changes do have something to do with women's liberation and are in a sense progressive.

But certainly it is necessary to draw the lesson from reality that while women's new role in the Klan reflects a certain form of progress, the working class should not be fooled by "up-front tokenism." We have the experience of the Black movement in the recent past and hopefully the feminist movement will correctly apply the lesson, as Linda does, that battle lines are to be drawn not around "who," but rather around "what."

Rita Shaw
Seattle, Washington

[Linda Jenness replies—Rita Shaw is wrong when she states that "women's new role in the Klan reflects a certain form of progress" and is "in a sense progressive."

[It is true that the section of the Klan led by David Duke has decided to "upgrade" the status of women racists in his organization. Duke made this modification in traditional Klan policy as part of his attempts to "modernize" the image of the Klan.

[Undoubtedly, he was influenced in this decision by the changing attitudes toward women engendered by the women's liberation movement. In that sense, his decision "reflects" the women's movement. But in no sense is this reflection *progressive* or in the interests of women, any more than the "upgrading" of workers in the Klan is progressive or in the interests of working people. If the Klan were an all-women racist organization this would still be true.

[Women joining, being upgraded in, or leading racist organizations doesn't help women. Look at Louise Day Hicks and the other female racists that support and lead ROAR in Boston. ROAR has become a breeding ground for reactionaries of all kinds, including the Klan. These scum have already attacked the women's movement, including physically. Women have to be mobilized against the racists, not only in the interests of the Black community, but also in their own direct interests as women.

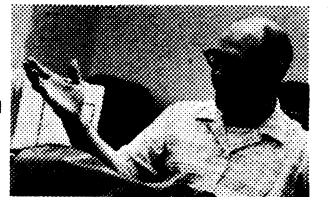
[It is wrong to compare General Motors and U.S. Steel to the Klan in this regard. Women should fight alongside Blacks for preferential hiring and upgrading in General Motors and U.S. Steel. There the problem is one of "tokenism" and the demand is for *more* preferential treatment. Not so with the Klan or any other racist organization, which women should fight as their own deadly enemy.]

You know they're hurting

An indicator of the effects of the United Farm Workers' Gallo boycott in the Denver, Colorado, area is the excessive amount of harassment and oppression the store owners and local police have had to resort to in an effort to control the rising resistance to Gallo products that the UFW has aroused.

In the previous seven years that the UFW has been organizing in the Denver-Boulder area, only eight arrests and no convictions were documented. But in the last year, starting in October 1974, there have been ninety arrests and tickets issued. These arrests have been for such charges as disturbance, molesting, littering, assault, and breaking a restraining order.

In relating the large numbers of arrests connected with the Gallo boycott, UFW regional coordinator



Trotsky on 'work sharing'

The world crisis of capitalism creates terrible problems for the workers, but not new ones. They are the same problems that developed with the breakdown of the economy in the 1930s: mass unemployment combined with rising prices. Now, as then, some propose to "share the work" through a shorter workweek . . . with a corresponding reduction in weekly pay.

Highly pertinent to today's problems is a discussion held in Mexico in 1938 between a CIO organizer and Leon Trotsky, one of the central leaders of the Russian revolution.

The CIO organizer explained that the policy of his union was to prevent "complete unemployment" by spreading the work among all members, which meant they got only 40 percent of their former weekly wages.

"Why that's monstrous!" Trotsky exclaimed. That means, he said, that "The full burden of unemployment falls with all its weight on the workers themselves. You free the bourgeoisie from the need of spending its resources on the unemployed by having each worker sacrifice three-fifths of his total wages."

Trotsky thought the shortsightedness of the union officials was caused partly by their hope that the depression was temporary, that it would pass over like a rain squall and then prosperity would shine again. "American capitalism is sick with a chronic and incurable disease," he said. "Can you console your workers with the hope that the present crisis will have a temporary character and that a new era of prosperity will open in the near future?"

The CIO organizer answered that he had no such illusions. He said, "Many in our circles understand that capitalism has entered its era of decline."

There may be union officials today who suspect this is true, but none have said so publicly. They are all busy negotiating with the employers, seeking separate shelters for themselves and the dwindling memberships of their unions until the storm passes.

Thirty-seven years ago Trotsky said such tactics could prove fatal. "The unions will go down step by step," he warned. He added that the blame lay with the officials, not the ranks:

"The masses are immeasurably better, more daring and resolute than the leaders. . . ," he said. "When

you showed a little initiative in building more combative unions [that is, the CIO], the workers immediately responded and gave you extraordinary, unprecedented support. . . . And what about the so-called sitdown strikes? It wasn't the leaders who thought them up, but the workers themselves. Isn't this an unmistakable sign that the American workers are ready to go over to more decisive methods of combat?"

Today the workers are again showing signs of their readiness for "more decisive methods of combat." The question still remains: what are these methods?

"This can't be attained by the ordinary, 'normal,' routine methods of the trade unions," Trotsky answered. "You cannot disagree with this, for in the conditions of capitalist decline isolated unions turn out to be incapable of halting even the further deterioration of the workers' conditions. . . . The bourgeoisie, who hold sway over the means of production and who have state power, have brought the economy to a state of total and hopeless disarray. It is necessary to declare the bourgeoisie incompetent and to transfer the economy into fresh and honest hands, that is, into the hands of the workers themselves."

"How to do this? The first step is clear: all the trade unions should unite and form their own *labor party*. . . . Only such a party is capable of gathering around itself the ruined farmers, the small artisans, the shopkeepers. But for this it would have to wage an uncompromising struggle against the banks, trusts, monopolies, and their political agents, that is, the Republican and Democratic parties."

"The task of the labor party should consist in taking power into its own hands, all the power, and then putting the economy in order. This means: to organize the entire national economy according to a single rational plan, whose aim is not the profit of a small bunch of exploiters, but the material and spiritual interests of a population of 130 million."

There have been some big changes since the Great Depression, but the basic answer to the economic crisis of capitalism has not changed. Union members ought to consider this when work sharing and other "temporary solutions" from the past are offered.

Jerry Ryan said that this is due to Gallo management pressuring its salesmen to encourage liquor store owners to seek support from local police authorities in harassing and intimidating UFW members and supporters.

But the success of the Denver boycott has demonstrated that despite these arrests, public opinion has not hardened against the boycott.

Of the ninety arrests, only in one case were the courts able to get a conviction.

O.M.
Denver, Colorado

Contribution

I am an eager reader of the *Militant*. Often I will find an added insight on an issue such as the recent budget cutbacks in New York.

The Socialist Workers party is fighting for the rights and freedom that all Americans should have, those rights being for decent houses, food, and jobs.

I wanted to include a note with my check [to the SWP Party Building Fund] that there are sympathizing elements in this country that wish to see a socialist America. While not a revolutionary myself, I am in complete political agreement with the party and wish to show this support in a small way.

I am looking forward to reading your publications and watching the growth of America's true revolutionary party.
Q.L.

Minneapolis, Minnesota

Motel sweatshops

Last month eleven housekeepers at the Ramada Inn in Rock Hill, South Carolina, walked off the job in protest of their working conditions. Their main complaints were the low pay (two dollars an hour) and short workdays (four to five hours). They first made several attempts to meet with the motel's manager before going on strike.

Then the workers, all women, learned that they are ineligible for unemployment compensation because the manager claims they quit. Eight of them again went to meet with the manager, only to be arrested for trespassing.

I know what they are up against. This is true of all hotels and motels around the Charlotte (North Carolina) area. I work in them when I can get work off and on. Or as long as I can hack it.

Last June I worked in one motel for more than twenty-eight hours, for which my take-home pay was a grand total of \$51.74. The work was in a hot kitchen where I almost contracted tuberculosis. If you are over thirty-five, you could not hack it.

The days of Cotton Ed Smith and John C. Calhoun live again.

Please send me a trial subscription to the *Militant*. I will renew as time allows. Enclosed is one dollar.

M.M.
Charlotte, North Carolina

The letters column is an open forum for all viewpoints on subjects of general interest to our readers. Please keep your letters brief. Where necessary they will be abridged. Please indicate if your name may be used or if you prefer that your initials be used instead.

By Any Means Necessary

Baxter Smith



Bury the LIFO principle!

Charles Watkins doesn't scare easy and that's good. When he got his pink slip several months back he knew his company was wrong. He knew his union was wrong; so he fought back.

He took them both to court and shortly found himself in the eye of a hurricane.

Watkins v. Local No. 2369 became the title of his court case, a central one in the nationwide effort to bury the LIFO (Last In, First Out) principle.

Continental Can Company, Watkins's employer, and United Steelworkers of America, Watkins's union, said that Watkins and forty-seven of fifty Black workers had to be among the nearly 200 employees the company laid off because down at the end of the line somebody wasn't buying enough tin cans.

Watkins though, who doesn't scare easy, said no. He knew that the Harvey, Louisiana, company had discriminated against Blacks and prior to 1965 had only two Blacks among its 400 regular employees. And if the company laid off all those Blacks just because they didn't have more seniority than many of the whites, he reasoned, it would be making Blacks pay for the company's past discrimination. It would be double discrimination.

Three other Blacks joined him as plaintiffs and not too long ago Federal District Judge Fred Cassibry agreed with them.

"The company's history of racial discrimination in hiring makes it impossible now for blacks (other than the original two) to have sufficient seniority to withstand layoff," the judge wrote.

Cassibry ordered Continental Can to rehire seven Blacks so their percentage in the factory would remain the same as before the layoffs.

He further ordered the company to classify all laid-

off workers by race and to recall Black and white workers on a one-for-one basis.

Leapin' lizards! cried the union brass. Tamper with seniority because of some, some nigras. They were stewing mad. So they appealed.

And on July 16 the Fifth Circuit Court of Appeals overturned Cassibry's ruling.

"Plaintiffs maintain that to allow the company to recall employees under the provisions of the collective-bargaining agreement is to sanction today the discrimination which the company practiced prior to 1965," the appeals court said.

"Plaintiffs, who have never suffered discrimination at the hands of the company, are in no better position to complain of the recall system than are the white workers who were hired contemporaneously with them."

Hiring discrimination? That was in the past, the appeals court reasoned, and it's all over now so let's let the past rest.

Well, it's not Charlie Watkins that's stirring up the past, but Continental Can and the Steelworkers union. They're the ones, by firing the Black workers disproportionately, who are insisting on a return to the past pattern of an almost lily-white factory. That's what Charlie Watkins doesn't like.

"This is a central case and it is a very seriously adverse development," Dick Sobel, attorney for the plaintiffs, said in an interview.

The appeals court also overruled the one-to-one recall plan ordered by Cassibry. Sobel sees a fault in the recall aspect, and now with the appellate ruling Charlie Watkins will take his case all the way to the Supreme Court level.

Because he doesn't scare easy, and that's good.

2,000 picket city hall

Transit workers hit fare-hike threat

By Lee Smith

NEW YORK—Two thousand pickets chanting "No fare increase" circled City Hall July 29 in a demonstration called on one day's notice by the Transport Workers Union. The action was in response to a planned twenty-five-cent hike in bus and subway fares and the threat of a wage freeze affecting all municipal workers.

The picket was followed by a rally at which TWU President Matthew Guinan promised a strike if the cutbacks in the city's subsidy of the transit authority go through.

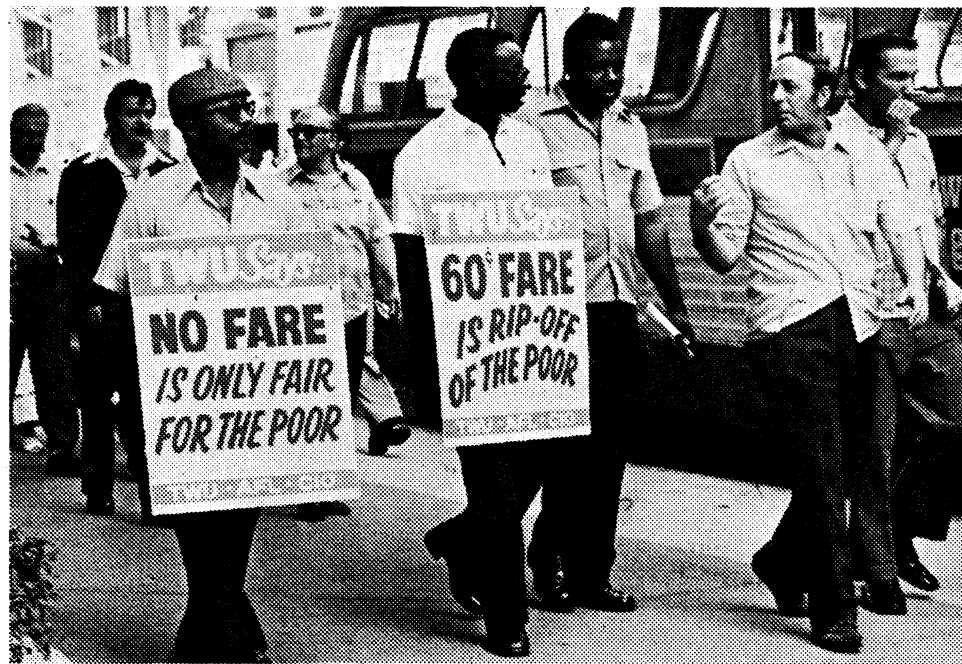
Despite the short notice, transit workers made an effort to get out word of the action to as many people as possible. Commuters were leafleted on buses and trains and at subway stops. Some motormen announced the demonstration over the public-address systems on their trains.

The leaflet distributed by the TWU focused on the proposed fare increase—from the present thirty-five cents to sixty cents—and urged the public to join the demonstration.

The TWU also appealed to the New York Central Labor Council for support, and representatives from a score of unions turned out July 29.

Picket signs printed by the TWU said "Save Our Subways," "No Fare Is Only Fair for the Poor," "Big Business Profits/Make Big Business Pay for Mass Transit," "60¢ Fare Is Rip-Off of the Poor," "Don't Let Bankers Steal New York," and "Mayor Should Represent the People, Not only Bankers."

As the demonstrators circled City Hall, TWU President Guinan spoke to



Pickets at City Hall protest plan to boost transit fares by twenty-five cents

reporters. "It looks to me," Guinan said, "like Mayor [Abraham] Beame and Paul O'Dwyer, the city council president, both jump when the bankers crack the whip."

In response to a reporter's question about what the TWU could do to stop the cuts, Guinan said, "Maybe you are too young to remember the strike of 1966, but we brought this town to a standstill. Our union has wallop. I don't say the others don't have it too, but we have a lot of wallop."

Asked if he was saying the TWU would go on strike again, Guinan answered, "If this plan goes through, we will convene a session of our

executive council, and I will recommend that we be given authority to strike."

Guinan then referred to the entire range of cuts being imposed on the city, not just in transportation. "This is brutal, man! It's criminal. It's not just an attack on city workers, but on the general public."

Guinan criticized inaction by Victor Gotbaum, executive director of District Council 37 of the American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees. Gotbaum is also head of the Municipal Labor Committee.

"Why, he's the head of all the city workers," said Guinan. "If I were in

his shoes, I'd call a one-day strike. If that didn't do it, I'd call a two-day strike. And if that didn't teach them a lesson, I'd call a five-day strike."

Wouldn't a transit strike be illegal, a reporter asked? "Of course, we've got that law that says we can't strike," Guinan said, referring to the state's Taylor Law. "But we've struck before, and we can strike again. I've been to jail and it's not so bad. I'll be willing to go to jail again."

Guinan repeated his promise to call for a strike if the cuts are imposed when he spoke to the brief rally that climaxed the demonstration. His words were met with cheers from the crowd.

In addition to Guinan, the rally was addressed by Claire Corbit from the airlines division of the TWU; Ellis Van Ripen, president of TWU Local 100; Harry Avrutin, secretary of the New York Central Labor Council; former New York State Sen. Sidney Von Luther; and a representative of the International Longshoremen's Association.

Other unions carrying picket signs or banners at the demonstration included: International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union; Amalgamated Clothing Workers; New York Typographical Union, Local 6; Actors Equity; Seafarers' International Union; and United Federation of Teachers.

Supporters of the Socialist Workers party 1976 election campaign at the demonstration distributed 2,000 copies of the SWP campaign platform, "A Bill of Rights for Working People," and a statement on the proposed fare hike headlined "No fare is only fair."

Interview with TWU member

'We have to get the public on our side'

By Linda Jenness

NEW YORK—James Mendieta is a structure worker in Transport Workers Union (TWU) Local 100. He organized about two-thirds of his shop to go to the demonstration called by his union on July 29 to protest New York City's proposed fare hike and wage freeze.

"That's the most people that have been organized out of one of our shops to go to anything," he said in an interview. "For a union meeting, I can usually organize myself to go and that's about it."

The demonstration was called on only twenty-four hours' notice, which Mendieta thinks was its main weakness. "Most of the shops I spoke to today on the road hadn't heard of the demonstration."

Mendieta, a Cuban-American, is a member of the Socialist Workers party. He talked about why he thought the TWU leadership decided to call the demonstration.

"Up until recently the TWU thought they could escape the cutbacks that are being imposed on the city workers by Beame under pressure from the banks, stockbrokers, and coupon clippers."

"I think they thought they could take care of themselves on their own. They also thought the city wouldn't go after the transit workers because of our past history of actions and because the transit workers are so key to the running of the city."

"But now it's clear to the TWU leaders that they can't bargain with the city and escape the cutbacks. Now we've come under direct attack by the city, which says it can't subsidize the transit authority anymore."

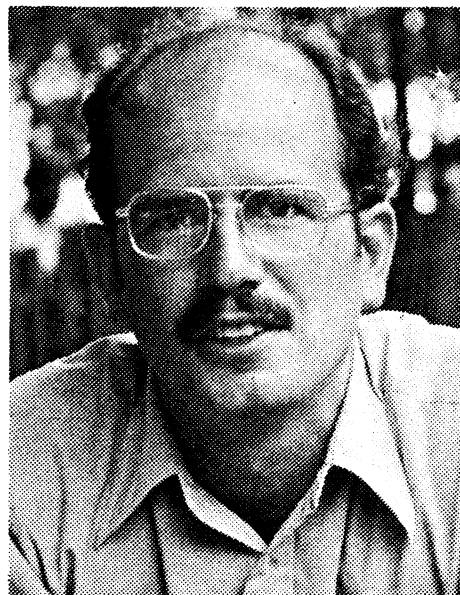
"The city is also demanding a wage freeze. In addition—although these

aren't concrete proposals by the city yet—we know they are planning cuts in our pension plan, a 10 percent wage reduction across the board, layoffs, and taking back our passes, which would mean we'd have to pay for our own transportation to and from work."

"The wage freeze is one of the central attacks on us. We're due for a raise on August 14. It's just a minimal raise that we got due to a cost-of-living clause in our last contract. It only amounts to four cents an hour."

"But once the city gets this, they've actually torn the contract apart. If they can break that part of our contract, then they don't have to live up to any other part."

Mendieta feels that the most positive aspect of the July 29 action was the



JAMES MENDIETA: 'The basis is there for united actions against the fare increase, the cutbacks, and the layoffs.'

union's appeal to the public for support and the involvement of other unions.

"The city's tactic," explained Mendieta, "is to really sock it to the public, raise the fare, then turn around and point the finger at us and lower our wages. They're trying to get public opinion on their side."

"The union countered by demanding 'free transit for everybody.' That's not a new thing, by the way. The union has called for free transit for twenty years."

"The union position is in the interest of the general public and all the working people in this city. We have to get the public on our side."

Several other unions, as well as the New York Central Labor Council, came to the demonstration to show solidarity with the TWU and to support the demands of the protesters.

"If I compare what my union did to, say, what Victor Gotbaum of the American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees has done, then I can say my union came a long way in the sense of getting all the unions together. And that's key to any solution to this attack on us. This demonstration was a small step, but it was a step in the right direction."

"What the other unions are doing is looking for differences and fighting among themselves. Gotbaum actually turned against some of his own locals that tried to get a little demonstration going. This failure to unify has led to defeat after defeat."

"The truth is that we're all affected by this, and very much to the same extent. If the subway fares go up, for instance, it will affect every union member in this city and every person that uses the subway—retired, work-

ing, unemployed, welfare recipients, students, everybody. So the basis is there for united actions against the fare increase, against the cutbacks, and against the layoffs."

Mendieta works in the department that keeps the subways in running order. "We take care of the masonry work, the plumbing work, the carpentry work. It's the equivalent of the skilled trades in construction outside," he explained.

"You know," he said, "I was up on an 'el' structure—that's an elevated train—today before the demonstration. The structure was simply falling apart. I was taking my life in my hands. And I was thinking about the demonstration that I was going to later."

"Here I am standing on a rotten wooden structure, forty feet off the ground, with cars passing underneath me. The rail on my side is rotted clear through. On the other side a sixty-ton train is passing with big iron things full of 600 volts of electricity coming out the side."

"And I'm wondering if it's worth the seven dollars an hour they're paying us. Now they are moving to cut our pay. They're going to have a fight on their hands."

When asked what he thought the next step should be for the transit workers, Mendieta said they needed to keep the momentum started by the July 29 demonstration going. "More and better action," he said.

"Our union president made a solid proposal that we strike if they raise the fare and freeze our wages. I think that if my union went out, all the other municipal workers would follow. All they are waiting for is some leadership."

Union contracts torn up Beame cuts pay of N.Y. workers

By Andy Rose

NEW YORK, July 30—Emboldened by the weak-kneed union reaction to cutbacks and layoffs already imposed, the banks and city administration in the past week sharply escalated their assault on jobs, wages, and social services.

Today Mayor Abraham Beame decreed a new round of budget cutbacks totaling \$500 million, to come on top of the devastating "crisis budget" that went into effect July 1. Beame demands the unions agree to:

- A wage freeze canceling the 6 percent increase due city workers on July 1.
- Elimination of 9,050 more city jobs this fiscal year by attrition.
- A 10 percent salary cut for employees earning more than a yet-unspecified figure.
- A further cut of \$32 million from the city university budget, which university officials say is already \$87 million short of what is necessary to maintain educational programs.
- Immediate increase in the bus and subway fare (now thirty-five cents) by ten or fifteen cents, with a further fare hike to sixty cents likely in the near future, plus higher tolls on bridges and tunnels.

Beame's ultimatum

Last Sunday Beame issued an ultimatum to the municipal employee unions. Accept the wage freeze voluntarily by midnight Tuesday, he demanded, or it will be imposed by administrative fiat.

An entire chorus of city and state officials seconded the union-busting plan. City Controller Harrison Goldin warned that if the city doesn't "do more" to cut expenses, "the issue would not be what the level of wages would be. The issue might very well be, do we have the cash to pay them at all?"

Democratic Gov. Hugh Carey had already urged union leaders to accept the freeze, saying that "in this time of fiscal constraint, everybody must make some sacrifice." He made it clear no state funds would be forthcoming.

A wage freeze would break the union contracts and, consequently, violate the state's collective bargaining law. But lawyers for the Municipal Assistance Corporation ("Big Mac"—the bank-dominated state agency set up last month) advised Beame that "if the emergency is severe enough, there are arguments beyond the legal."

They didn't say whether the same reasoning might apply to the city's "legal" obligation to keep paying interest to the banks and wealthy bondholders, or to the "legal" ban against public employee strikes.

After a brief flurry of arguments about whether it would require state legislation to freeze wages, state Attorney General Louis Lefkowitz assured the city council they had "ample authority" to "constitutionally enact, as an emergency measure, a local law imposing a wage freeze."

Orders from Rockefeller

This latest stage in the antilabor offensive has followed a new scenario in which the banks, acting through Big Mac, more and more openly call the shots for city hall. Here's how it works:

Big Mac is supposed to be selling its own long-term bonds to raise cash for the city to pay off short-term debts now coming due. A second \$1 billion Big Mac bond issue had been scheduled for



'If they can't pay, let 'em walk. They've been getting a free ride for too long.'

August 7, but Mac officials said they wouldn't be able to sell the bonds because of alleged lack of confidence in the city by investors.

The way to restore confidence, of course, is to cut payrolls more. In fact, the banks said outright that they would refuse to buy the bonds themselves or market them to others until the cuts were made.

David Rockefeller, chairman of the Chase Manhattan Bank, sent a letter to Big Mac on July 22 specifying that "a definitive program, strongly endorsed by the Governor, the Legislature, the Mayor, the M.A.C. board, must not only be announced in full detail, but agreed to and acted upon by all parties with no further delay."

There is more than a little chicanery in the scare over Big Mac bonds. Paying extraordinarily high interest rates, backed by nearly \$1 billion a year in tax revenues that go directly to Big Mac, the tax-free bonds are acknowledged by Wall Street experts to be not only sound but a good investment (for those wealthy enough to buy them, that is!).

Passing the buck

But the furor over Big Mac serves to take the heat off the Democratic and Republican officeholders who carry out the banks' dictates. This was bluntly spelled out in a *Business Week* editorial July 21 commenting on a plan by Felix Rohatyn, a key figure on the Big Mac board, to set up similar Macs for other cities.

The editors of the authoritative financial magazine wrote that "the creation of MACs would give local officials a place to pass the buck when they face angry municipal workers or resentful citizens. The great weakness of local officials in any bargaining is that they cannot forget that they are dealing with voters. The basic purpose of the MAC is to deflect the blame and leave the mayor free to do what has to be done."

That is precisely the strategy now followed by Beame. Asked by union officials whether he would guarantee no more layoffs if they accepted the wage freeze, Beame reportedly answered, "I don't know. I have to do what they [Big Mac] tell me."

One aim of this charade is to create an aura of inevitability around the cutbacks—to convince workers that with the banks, city hall, and the state

and federal governments against them, it is hopeless to resist. That is exactly how most of the city union leaders are acting.

The one positive action this week was the response by the Transport Workers Union (see story on facing page), which had previously stood aloof from the cutback fight.

But officials of the other city unions, who have capitulated to every step of Beame's offensive so far, gave no sign they would turn and fight now, not even if the union contracts are trampled on.

Union response

On July 28 a state supreme court justice upheld the firing of 1,434 sanitation workers, rejecting the sanitation union's contention that its contract bars layoffs.

There has been sporadic picketing of sanitation truck depots by laid-off workers, but union head John DeLury, who gave tacit approval to a wildcat strike when the layoffs first hit, has squelched any further job actions. A mood of disappointment and demoralization now prevails.

As a result of the layoffs, tons of garbage are piling up—worse in some areas than during the strike. City residents driven to desperation by the stench and vermin have developed the tactic of throwing garbage into the street, where it blocks traffic. Then a truck is usually sent around.

But 750 more sanitation workers are slated to be laid off August 1.

Also on July 28, contract talks opened between the board of education and the United Federation of Teachers. The board threatens to lay off 8,000 teachers, eliminate preparation time, and increase class sizes.

UFT President Albert Shanker is talking about a 25 percent wage increase, but it will take more than talk to get anything close to that while other unions are passively accepting wage cuts.

Victor Gotbaum, executive director of American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees District Council 37, still resolutely pretends that his Democratic party ally Beame isn't responsible for what is happening.

"If he [Beame] has to submit to pressure and make ultimatums," Gotbaum said, "we should all feel sorry for him."

Above all, Gotbaum wants "negotiations." And so, as the *Militant* goes to press, "negotiations" over the wage freeze are continuing, although, as the *New York Times* wrote this morning, "the Mayor and the Municipal Assistance Corporation officials are agreed upon the plan and . . . yesterday's meetings with the unions were designed primarily to persuade the leaders to agree to them in 'a united, public way.' . . ."

Phantom compromise

The *Daily News* today reported on a "compromise" plan by which the 6 percent wage increase "would be officially granted on the books"—it just wouldn't be paid to the workers!

The face-saving part, according to the *Daily News*, is that union officials could promise their members that the raise might be paid sometime in the future, and that their next contract negotiations could begin from the higher base, "as if the raises had been granted."

This phantom-wage plan opens up all sorts of possibilities. In the next contract, the city could even offer hefty wage boosts and a cost-of-living clause to boot—with the same little qualification that they wouldn't be paid, that's all.

Gotbaum seems to have forgotten one elementary premise of "negotiations." Unless you have some power and show you are willing to use it, the only thing to "negotiate" is the terms of your surrender.

The futility of relying on "friends" like Beame and Carey instead of mobilizing the independent strength of the unions and their allies has never been more obvious. This policy has brought nothing but disaster to New York City workers. If continued, it will lead to the utter ruin of the unions.

It is not too late to turn the situation around. Despite all the stalling and backtracking of union officials so far, which has fostered confusion and demoralization, a union call for mass action to stop the cutbacks and layoffs would still meet with a tremendous response.

The events of the past week show the city administration's assault will not stop—it will have to be stopped. And only the power of the unions, together with their potential allies among all victims of the cutbacks, can do that.

Pathfinder Press to publish new book

[James P. Cannon, the principal founder of the Socialist Workers party, died on August 21, 1974, at his home in Los Angeles. He was eighty-four years old. Cannon had been a strike organizer for the Industrial Workers of the World before World War I, where he worked with "Big Bill" Haywood and Vincent St. John. He was a founding leader of the American Communist party, and served on the Presidium of the Communist International in Moscow in 1922-23, before being expelled from the CP for "Trotskyism" in 1928.]

[Readers of the *Militant* will recall that last year we asked their support for the James P. Cannon Party Building Fund, whose purpose was to carry on the work of building a socialist movement in America, to which Cannon devoted his long and productive life. One of the projects the fund envisaged was the publication of some of Cannon's speeches and writings that have never appeared before in book form.]

[Since his death, Cannon's papers have been placed on deposit at the Library of Social History in New York. Pathfinder Press has examined their contents to see what is publishable, and to begin the preparation of one or more books of Cannon's writings.]

[The *Militant* recently interviewed Les Evans, the Pathfinder editor in charge of the project, and George Breitman, who is the consulting editor. Evans is former editor of the *International Socialist Review* and Breitman has edited several books by Leon Trotsky and Malcolm X.]

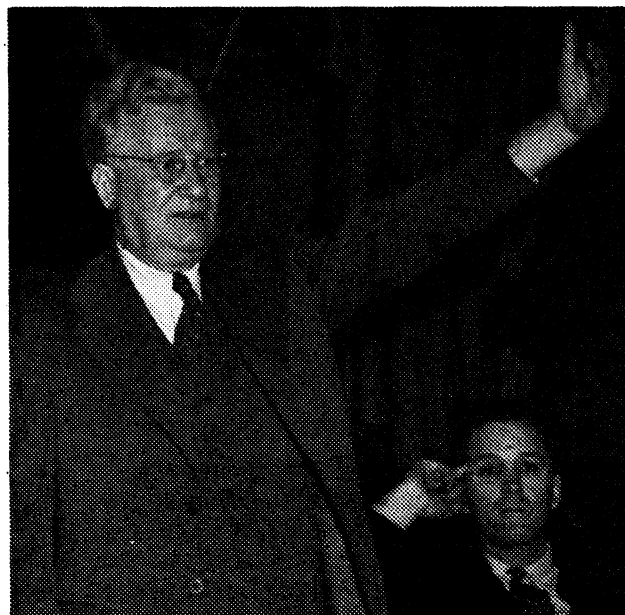
Militant: Both of you have spent a number of months going through Cannon's archives. Could you tell us what kind of material you found and what this would add to the books by Cannon that are already in print?

Evans: Jim Cannon's papers are a unique record of the American communist and socialist movements going back more than fifty years. No other tendency on the American Left has such a rich account of what it did and why, of how it met government persecution, of its efforts to become part of the real life of workers in many parts of the country over the years. I should say no other tendency except the American Communist party. But the CP, because of all its shifts and turns in compliance with the foreign policy of Moscow, has no interest in publishing any comparable account.

George and I, in examining the archives, were aware of the possibility that it might repeat or duplicate the things already in print in his books. Some of it does, of course, but in addition there is a lot more that covers new territory.

Breitman: Before Les goes into that, I'd like to make one more introductory point. The number of people who are interested in books by Cannon today is obviously limited to revolutionary socialists and a few others in the United States and to authentic internationalists abroad.

But as the revolutionary movement grows, and that seems quite certain in the years ahead, interest in this man Cannon is going to grow



James P. Cannon's papers are unique record of U.S. communist and socialist movement going back for fifty years.



Meeting during World War II protested imprisonment of eighteen SWP and Teamster union leaders for their antiwar views. First volume of new series of books by Cannon will cover war years.

correspondingly—interest in his ideas and how they developed and how they can be used in the struggle he understood and foresaw better than all his contemporaries.

Education of revolutionary cadres

These posthumous books by Cannon are going to have a very useful function not only now in the education of today's revolutionary cadres, but also in the future, probably for the rest of this century. So Pathfinder Press should be supported in this publishing project as well as commended for it.

Evans: Yes, and as I was saying, the "new" material will add to the body of Cannon's works rather than duplicate it. Although Cannon wrote nine books in his lifetime, many of them collections of the kind we propose to take from his archives, these really covered only a part of his political activity.

Two of his books span whole decades: *Notebook of an Agitator* and *Speeches for Socialism*. While the first gives a good flavor of Jim Cannon as a writer and the second as a speaker, and they tell where he stood on many issues, they do not provide a complete account of what he and his party were doing at a particular period of time.

Some of his other books do provide this historical dimension. *The First Ten Years of American Communism* gives a good picture of the development of the pioneer American Communists. *The Struggle for a Proletarian Party*, while it concentrates on an internal political struggle in the Socialist Workers party, gives a good account of the life of the party in the fall of 1939 and the spring of 1940.

But for the first decade of the Trotskyist movement in this country we have only Cannon's *History of American Trotskyism*, which he regarded as primarily a sketch that filled in the broad outlines rather than as a full-bodied history.

The only things in print for the World War II years and the immediate postwar period are *Socialism on Trial* and *Letters from Prison*. The first is the court transcript of his testimony in the famous Minneapolis labor trial of 1941 in which he and seventeen other leaders of the SWP and of the Minneapolis Teamsters union were convicted under the anticommunist Smith Act for their antiwar opposition to the Roosevelt administration in World War II.

The second covers the year—1944—that he spent at Sandstone penitentiary in Minnesota after the Supreme Court refused to hear the appeals in the Minneapolis case.

For the later period we have only *Speeches to the Party*, for the years 1952-53.

Cannon's political correspondence

There is much, much more. There is Cannon's political correspondence, ranging back to the early twenties and up until the time of his death. There are innumerable transcripts of speeches and discussions, many at important turning points in American politics and in the history of the SWP.

Though Cannon was primarily an organizer, he was also a prolific writer, and much of what he

wrote has long been out of print in the old volumes of the *Militant*, *Socialist Appeal*, *Labor Action*, *New International*, and other publications to which he contributed. We hope to be able to reprint everything of lasting value from this source.

Militant: Do you envision collections around specific themes, such as trade-union problems or internationalism, or do you have in mind some other format? And how much publishable material do you think there is?

Evans: We considered very carefully the possibility of thematic collections. But once we began to get a real feel for the scope of the material, we decided that it would be most valuable, most complete, and most accessible to the general reader if we published it chronologically.

Cannon was above all a party builder and strategist. It's hard to judge the worth of tactical and strategic decisions if you don't know the context in which they were made and what the alternatives were at the time.

We felt that a collection that fully covered two or three years per book would give the reader the best opportunity to follow intelligently the development of Cannon's thought and the field of action in which he and the SWP had to operate.

Material for nine new books

We think there is material for perhaps nine new books, each standing on its own as an independent chapter in the history of American Trotskyism and of the working-class movement in the United States. This is not counting the files from Cannon's years in the CP before 1928.

Militant: Where will you begin the series, and how long do you think it will be before you get the first book into print?

Breitman: The answer to your second question is that the first book is already being printed. We are hoping that it will be available to readers by the first anniversary of Cannon's death, that is, in August.

Evans: It would make the most sense to begin at the beginning: with the expulsion of Cannon, Max Shachtman, and Martin Abern from the CP in October 1928 and the launching of the *Militant*. And it was tempting to start there from the standpoint of editorial neatness. But on thinking it over we found a compelling reason to start the collection in the middle, so to speak.

The early days of American Trotskyism were ones of great material poverty. Often copies weren't kept of important letters, or if they were they ended up in the personal files of one or another of the early leaders.

We became convinced after making a few inquiries around the country that there was still an important component of letters and documents that we didn't yet have for the decade of the 1930s. We are still following up leads to try to acquire them. In fact, if any readers of the *Militant* have in their

by Militant's first editor

possession letters from Cannon from the 1930s or know anybody who does, they shouldn't assume that other copies exist. They should get in touch with us so that we can get copies.

One very valuable contribution we have already received came from Albert Glotzer, who was a member of the first national committee of the Communist League of America back in 1929. He left the party with Max Shachtman in 1940. He offered to let us copy his correspondence with Cannon to aid this project.

In the meantime we didn't want to hold up the project for a year or two, so we picked another starting point, where the record is more complete.

Last winter we began work on a book entitled *The Socialist Workers Party in World War II*, which contains Cannon's writings and speeches from April 1940, where *The Struggle for a Proletarian Party* ends, to December 1943, where *Letters from Prison* begins. This is the volume that will be out in August.

Militant: Could you give our readers an idea of what kinds of things this first book will contain?

Evans: We think this is a very exciting book. Its basic theme is the SWP's opposition to World War II and its attempt to build an antiwar opposition in the trade-union movement. Those were difficult times for American radicals. It is true that the wartime hysteria was not as great as in World War I, but most workers believed that Roosevelt was serious about fighting Hitler to protect democracy.

It was only later that they saw that he was using the war as an opportunity to gobble up the old colonial empires of America's allies, France and England. The SWP and Cannon said these things at the time, but it didn't make them especially popular.

The book is the first that covers the famous Minneapolis labor trial of 1941, apart from Cannon's actual testimony on the witness stand, which was published under the title *Socialism on Trial*. It also documents the government's efforts to ban the *Militant* from the mails, which resulted in a court battle from 1942 to 1944—which the *Militant* finally won.

Remember, this was a time when virtually all the groups that called themselves socialist or communist were capitulating to the American government and giving up any independent role in the political life of the country.

SWP's political capital

The SWP's great political and moral capital in this period derives from the fact that it stood up and refused to be intimidated, even though it was subjected to severe blows.

This book records the party's response to the assassination of Trotsky in August 1940 by an agent of Stalin, a terrible loss to the world

revolutionary movement. These are some of the most moving passages of Cannon's writings.

Most striking throughout the collection is the sober Bolshevik realism with which Cannon and his co-workers met every obstacle and every opportunity. Some of the most interesting pieces are the hitherto unpublished transcripts of meetings of the SWP Political Committee (two days after the Japanese attack on Pearl Harbor, for example), and of plenary meetings of the party's national committee. Here Cannon took great pains to distinguish between the natural outrage of revolutionists at the horrors of capitalist war or at the monstrous murder machine of Stalin, and the need to react consciously, politically, to never lose sight of any possibility to reach the American workers at the level on which they stood.

Breitman: I also think these unpublished transcripts will shed added light on Cannon's personality and personal philosophy.

What about a Cannon biography?

Militant: Now that Cannon's archives are available, what are the chances of his biography being written in the near future?

Evans: A biographer would certainly find indispensable material there, but we don't know of any definite plans for a biography at this time.

Breitman: The collection of information for a future biographer was started in 1972, with Cannon's collaboration, when Harry Ring began taping interviews with him about his early years. There undoubtedly will be a biography eventually, probably more than one, but when and by whom we don't know.

Meanwhile, Pathfinder Press is preparing a book about Cannon consisting of reminiscences by people who worked with him, including articles written specially for this book as well as speeches given last year after his death. Its working title is *James P. Cannon As We Knew Him*. At the last count it included contributions by more than thirty people, most of them Cannon's comrades but several other people as well. Editorial work on that book should be completed by late this year or early next year.

Evans: And the second book by Cannon should be out a year from now.

Breitman: Meanwhile we're counting on the *Militant* to spread the word about the first of the new Cannon books. After, all he was the first editor of the *Militant*. How about that for a title? "Pathfinder Press to publish new book by *Militant's* first editor."

Militant: Good idea.



December 31, 1943. Cannon (left front) with other Smith Act victims outside Minneapolis SWP headquarters on their way to begin federal prison sentence.

Cops arrest dozens in West Texas UFW strike

By Jim White

PECOS, Tex.—A strike for recognition of the United Farm Workers began in this area of western Texas July 23 and was met immediately with the arrests of dozens of union organizers and strikers.

The UFW strike coincided with the opening of the cantaloupe harvest, which had been delayed because of weather. The leadership of this unionization effort is the same group that organized the strike of 3,000 melon pickers in the Rio Grande Valley in South Texas last May.

The strike began Wednesday, July 23, at the Cottonwood Farm. Some 250 workers walked out. Soon afterward Reeves County sheriff's deputies arrived.

The cops arrested twenty-seven people, who were later charged with criminal trespassing. All those arrested were standing on an unpaved, county-maintained road that is marked public on maps of the area.

Eight of those arrested were juveniles and were released later in the day to their parents. Bail for the other nineteen was set at \$400 each. Many of them had to wait more than twenty-four hours before the union could raise bail money to get them released.

On Thursday morning, while sixteen of the strikers were still in jail, organizers tried to pull out workers from another melon farm. One person was arrested.

A picket line was planned for Friday, July 25, on a public road by a melon field near the town of Cayanosa, thirty miles southeast of here. But only thirteen picketers had arrived on the scene early in the morning when Pecos County sheriff's deputies showed up and arrested them for trespassing.

The arrests by deputies of both counties were clearly illegal. There was no warning given and those arrested were on public roads when they were picked up. By Friday evening, \$13,600 in bail money had been put up by sympathizers of *la causa*, and those donating the money reported their funds were being exhausted.

Illegal arrests designed to break the strike are not the only way officials are cooperating with the growers against the union.

Workers at the Cayanosa melon farm where the Friday arrests took place reported to strike organizers that the owner had armed his supervisors. The grower told the men that they wouldn't go to jail if they happened to shoot one or two strikers.

After the first day of the strike, twenty-seven strikers were evicted from a federal housing project camp. Administrators said the rent is paid by growers, and the growers decide who stays and who goes.

No previous attempts have been made to organize farm labor in this area, and many of the workers are Chicano high school students who work in the fields only during the summer. This means they have no experience with the UFW or with strikes.

The union is without funds and is unable to pay even five dollars a week in strike benefits. Migrant workers who walk out of the fields cannot remain and picket; they must travel to another area where they can work.

In addition, the farm workers in Pecos received two phone calls threatening bombings of their office if the organizing drive is not called off.

Nevertheless, at a union meeting July 25, it was decided to continue the campaign for recognition of the UFW.

The next morning the onion fields of Duncan's Farms, about thirty miles south of Pecos, were picketed. Despite the presence of a large number of deputies, there were no arrests.

The organizers returned to the same field Monday, July 28, and 130 workers walked out.

Despite the harassment and other difficulties the union faces, it is clear that, given the opportunity, field hands respond to the appeals of the UFW organizers.

The growers in their own way have provided confirmation of this fact. To forestall the organizing drive, they have raised hourly rates for melon pickers from \$1.80—the legal minimum—to \$2.00. The rate for onion picking has been increased from \$.28 to \$.35 a sack.

The Cointelpro Papers

(Part 12)

News media look at FBI's criminal plot

By Nelson Blackstock

Peter Camejo and Syd Stapleton walked into NBC's Washington studios at 6:15 on the morning of March 19. At 7:00 a.m. the "Today" show went on the air. A few minutes later millions of Americans first learned of the FBI's conspiracy to destroy the Socialist Workers party.

Readers of the *New York Times* who had picked up that day's paper when it hit the street the night before were the first to find out about the story. The main headline was about the CIA's multi-million-dollar operation to retrieve a Soviet submarine off the floor of the Pacific. But also on the front page was an account of the FBI's Cointelpro plot against the socialists.

Peter Camejo is the SWP's presidential candidate. Syd Stapleton is national secretary of the Political Rights Defense Fund. After their appearance on the "Today" program, they drove to a news conference. There the PRDF released copies of the Cointelpro papers and individual FBI files on several SWP members.

These documents were obtained as a result of a suit against government spying and harassment filed by the SWP and the Young Socialist Alliance.

The Cointelpro papers are copies of top-secret FBI files. Cointelpro is the FBI's acronym for its "Counterintelligence Program." It was set up to wreck the SWP and the YSA, as well as civil rights groups, the antiwar movement, and other forces that have stood up for the needs of working people.

The PRDF was organized to publicize the suit and raise money to finance it.

Soon after the Washington news conference, reporters dispatched stories about the contents of the FBI files to newspapers and television and radio stations across the country. That evening and the next morning millions more learned about the FBI plot against their democratic rights.

In the following weeks the PRDF amassed some 600 newspaper clippings on this story. While not a totally complete record, this collection provides a valuable picture of news media reaction to the FBI crimes. The most significant coverage included:

- A March 19 Associated Press dispatch carried in 170 daily papers in thirty-seven states. It was front-page news in 50 papers.
- The *New York Times* ran a detailed page-one story, plus a background article on the SWP. The *Times* story was picked up by at least twenty-five dailies.
- The AP sent out five separate follow-up articles.
- United Press International distributed two different stories.
- The *Washington Post* carried a page-one article.
- It's more difficult to measure the response on radio and television, although most Americans rely on them for news. The "Today" interview was the most significant.

"Every single major paper carried at least one story on the documents," said Cathy Perkus of the PRDF national staff.

"The press treated the story very seriously," Perkus thinks. "They saw the FBI behavior revealed in the documents as clearly illegal. I believe our assertion that these sorts of things are still going on after the FBI's alleged 1971 cut-off date for the program was accepted." The charge that Cointelpro—whatever it's now called—continues is central to the suit.

Other coverage

The front page of the March 20 *Houston Chronicle* carried a big headline about Dan Fein's FBI file. He had been the SWP's candidate for mayor in the previous election.

In several other cities local reporters wrote about information in the documents concerning illegal FBI activity in their area. Newspapers in Minnesota, New Jersey, New York, and Wisconsin ran such stories.

The *Los Angeles Times* sent a staff writer to Arizona to report on what happened to Morris Starsky, a Cointelpro victim who was fired from his teaching position at Arizona State University. The reporter called FBI headquarters in Washington to ask why the FBI had launched this attack on Starsky and the SWP. The FBI refused to comment. But, interestingly, they did send him a copy of red-baiting remarks inserted into the *Congressional Record* by U.S. Rep. Larry McDonald, a leading member of the John Birch Society.

A good many of the files involved attacks on the Black civil rights movement. Several North Carolina papers printed stories on an operation in that state. One of the AP stories, which concerned the North Carolina incident, was featured in papers throughout the South.

New York City's major Black paper, the *Amsterdam News*, ran a front-page story on FBI attempts to block collaboration between the NAACP and socialists. Syndicated Black political commentator Chuck Stone wrote about how the new interest in Marxism among some Blacks relates to the FBI assault on the SWP.

The *Guild Reporter*, put out by the Newspaper Guild, described how the "FBI misused the press."

The *Militant* has provided the most thorough coverage by far of the Cointelpro story—with several news articles and a twelve-part "Cointelpro Papers" series.

Others reporting the story included important papers in several different countries, campus papers, Liberation News Service, *Rights* magazine, and "alternative newspapers" in many cities.

More documents

On June 24 the PRDF turned over to the news media a new group of files coughed up by the FBI. Again, it was big news. The clipping record is not nearly complete, but coverage of new revelations in these files looks to be not quite as extensive as it was for the first batch of documents. But in one way, at least, it's more extensive—reporting on plots in local areas.

The major national news sources—AP, UPI, the *New York Times*, the *Washington Post*—all featured stories. Syd Stapleton put in an appearance on the network "CBS Morning News."

The release of the documents rated banner headlines in the *Houston Chronicle*, the *Cleveland Plain Dealer*, and the *Washington Star*—all papers in cities where FBI dirty work was uncovered.

Stories on other local Cointelpro plots unmasked by the files were featured in newspapers in St. Louis; Milwaukee; Atlanta; Detroit; Kalamazoo and Muskegon, Michigan; Indianapolis; Portland, Oregon; and Austin, Texas. Some of these stories were in turn reprinted in other cities.

Muhammad Speaks covered an Atlanta PRDF news conference where it was revealed that the FBI worked with the *Atlanta Constitution* to red-bait the YSA and the antiwar movement in that city in 1968. The *Constitution* was the only paper to suggest the FBI files might be forgeries.

Editorial comment

Perhaps more revealing than the level of news coverage was the amount and character of editorial comment. The PRDF has received editorials on the first set of files alone from a total of thirty-six newspapers.

Several columnists commented in one way or another on the release of the Cointelpro papers. Included were nationally syndicated columnists Nicholas Von Hoffman, Mary McGrory, Tom Wicker, Arthur Hoppe, and Patrick Owens. James Wechsler, an editor of the *New York Post*, devoted two of his daily columns to the subject, and *Village Voice* columnist Nat Hentoff mentioned it.

Conservative political commentator James J. Kilpatrick chose the topic for remarks broadcast nationwide on the CBS radio network.

Taken together this media response presents an illuminating picture of the current controversy around the role of the FBI.

The first thing that stands out is that nowhere is there any attempt at all to defend the Cointelpro conspiracy. On the contrary, it comes in for scathing criticism: "To the list of organized crime operations, add the FBI. . . thoroughly illegal"—*Dayton (Ohio) Daily News*. "Tactics ranging from the bizarre to the despicable"—*Des Moines (Iowa) Register*. "Frightening, chilling"—*Philadelphia Inquirer*. "Illegal and unconstitutional"—*Niagara Falls (New York) Gazette*. "Gutter tactics"—*Ogdensburg, New York, Advance-News*. "Gestapo tactics"—*St. Louis Post-Dispatch*. "It reads a lot like lies and libel . . . like a mixture of the late Joseph McCarthy and the worst of Watergate."—Bruce Morton, "CBS Morning News."

Kilpatrick's remarks over CBS radio must have articulated the feelings of many who share his political views: "I hope to remain a friend of the bureau, but the disclosure of the FBI's outrageous and contemptible harassment of the Socialist Workers party is enough to put a crimp in any friendship."

Legal party

Many observers have noted the SWP's legality: "A legal American political party. . . not accused of violating any laws"—*St. Paul Pioneer Press*. "Views never were shown to be subversive or in any way endangering freedom in our democracy"—*The Blade*, Toledo, Ohio. "Perfectly lawful American political party, entitled to exist alongside the Republican party [and] the Democratic party"—*Charleston, West Virginia, Gazette-Mail*. "Legal political party"—*Minneapolis Star*.

Conspicuously absent for the most part is any tone of old-fashioned red-baiting. As the *Scranton (Pennsylvania) Times* saw it: their "sin in the eyes of J. Edgar Hoover [was] believing that a brand of socialism would be better economically and politically for the United States than the present system."

After making points like those, many observers went out of their way to insert some disparaging remark about the SWP. A couple of editorials described the SWP as minuscule. "The F.B.I.'s Appetite For Very Small Potatoes," was the headline on Nicholas Horrock's analysis in the *Sunday New York Times*.

On the one hand, these writers think the FBI is urgently in need of a face-lifting to recapture its authority, and this is their way of putting the FBI down for what they see as wasting time and money.

But it isn't very surprising that the SWP is described in this way. The party is small by most standards. Certainly, in terms of American political parties—where the capitalist Democratic and Republican parties monopolize the scene—the SWP seems irrelevant to most commentators. Some were no doubt genuinely confused about why the FBI paid so much attention to the SWP and YSA. It was a sign of J. Edgar Hoover's "paranoia," concluded a few.

J. Edgar Hoover, in any case, is not central to the issue. There is ample evidence that Cointelpro-type operations continued after his death. But for all his idiosyncracies, he was a devoted servant of the ruling class. His job was to run a political police force—one that was cloaked in secrecy—and he did just that for fifty years. It's dirty work.

Most people believe that in a democracy there is not really supposed to be secret police. Cointelpro, as a matter of fact, was never meant to be known to the American people. That's why Hoover made a big display of canceling the program after it came to light in 1971.

The Cointelpro papers and the other files reveal some stupid FBI blunders and misestimates. The total picture, however, is of cool, calculating technicians, not crazed paranoids, going about the business of secretly combating people who are challenging the rule of the rich. That's the FBI's job.

The American ruling class is very farsighted. Although socialism is still relatively uninfluential in the political life of this country, that is not true on a world scale. The rulers realize this. They foresee a potential socialist challenge here. They study the history of past American radicalizations in which socialists have been prominent. They can also see—more clearly than many media commentators—that socialists have had some role in current social struggles.

In an interview with *Newsday*, Peter Camejo put it this way: "Hoover realized you can't judge a movement only by numbers. He realized that the party was a catalyst in the anti-war movement. Break us and you've broken the back of the anti-war

A Teacher Learns How the FBI Tried to Get Her Fired

By Jerry Oppenheimer
Washington Star Staff Writer

Maude Adams White, a teacher with a pixie face and blonde hair, always had the feeling that the FBI was keeping an eye on her, but she had no idea how far that surveillance went.

She never suspected that her career was placed in jeopardy or that her sex life was being scrutinized until Tuesday, when secret FBI documents were released as part of a \$27 million damage suit filed against the Justice Department by the Socialist Workers Party.

As a member of the Young Socialist Alliance (YSA) in the late

1960s and early 1970s, the Methodist minister's daughter remembers the many demonstrations she attended against the Vietnam war, in support of Castro's Cuba — at which moderate men in business suits covertly snapped her picture in the crowd.

SHE RECALLS driving a visiting European Socialist leader to a university rally in the area and noticing that they were followed by several men in a plain sedan with an antenna protruding from the trunk.

She never really had any proof that it was the FBI keeping tabs on her, but I just assumed "that they would show interest in a young D.C. pre-

school and kindergarten teacher who usually was on hand at Socialist and other "militant" gatherings.

Today Maude Adams White, 29, now Mrs. Robert Wilkinson of Alexandria, has documentation confirming her old suspicions — documentation showing that the FBI went further than snapping her picture and putting a tail on her car.

"Back then," she said in an interview in her Alexandria apartment yesterday, "I really expected any day for an FBI agent to come to my school, but that's not the way they work. I thought they came right out and said to your principal, 'I'm from the FBI.' But now I know they do it

secretly to intimidate people and harass people and keep people from being around radical groups or having radical ideas and I guess they wanted to break me."

THE SMALL SHEAF of documents sitting on Mrs. Wilkinson's coffee table, obtained by the Socialist Workers Party in connection with the lawsuit against the Justice Department, outlines an apparent attempt by the FBI to destroy the young woman's teaching career because of her membership in YSA.

In April 1969, according to the documents, a memo went from the Washington field office of the FBI to

the office of then-Director J. Edgar Hoover advising that an "anonymous letter" be sent to Miss White's parents notifying them of her membership in YSA.

A footnote to this memo said: "Her father is reportedly a Methodist minister and could be expected to be in opposition to the tenets of YSA."

"In any event," the memo continued, "we should check methods designed to separate her from the educational system."

A short time later, in another memo, the writer, whose name was deleted, said that a letter to Miss



MRS. MAUDE WILKINSON
A feeling she was watched

See SPYING, A4

Some Relief
Partly cloudy today,
high in low to mid-80s.
Cloudy tonight, low in
60s. Cloudy tomorrow,
high in 80s. Details: B-6.

The Washington Star

CAPITAL SPECIAL

THURSDAY, JUNE 26, 1975

Phone (202) 484-5000 CIRCULATION 484-3000 CLASSIFIED 484-6000 15 Cents On Newsstand

SHOWERS
Houston: Partly cloudy, chance of showers. Low tonight, 73. High Thursday, 82.
More Data
See p. 2, Page 1
Weatherline
224-1121

HOUSTON CHRONICLE

Houston's Family Newspaper

Vol. 74 No. 251 WEDNESDAY, JUNE 25, 1975 HOUSTON, TEXAS 77002

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20 CENTS

FBI Tried to Ban UH Socialist Unit

Agency Reports Tell of 1970 Harassment

By NORVAN BAXTER
Chronicle Washington Bureau

Washington — As part of a program to disrupt the New Left, the agent in charge of

The Guild Reporter

Documents reveal how FBI misused the press

New disclosures about the FBI's misuse of the press are contained in internal documents of the agency released under a Federal District Court order in New York City.

The documents show that the agency had planned stories with derogatory information on the personal life of left-wing candidates and that have a reporter re his job because of real affiliations.

The court order permits release of the party against the papers—internal report cables—were, all



DAVID WILLIAMS, Young Socialist Alliance member, is shown here during a news conference.

FBI sought help of Atlanta paper to foil war demonstration

By Harold 4X
(M.S. Atlanta Bureau)

ATLANTA, Ga. — A group of young socialists provided newsmen here with a set of documents recently that

Steven Marshall, of the Young Socialist Alliance YSA, David Williams, Political Rights Defense Fund (PRDF) and president of Georgia State University senior class and John Morton, Socialist

FBI Fanned Discord In N.C.

HARPER'S WEEKLY

JOURNAL OF CIVILIZATION

VOL. LXIV, NO. 313 FIFTY CENTS JULY 18, 1975

FBI Stoops to New Low

When they're really out to get you, the FBI will write anonymous letters to your parents or your boss. A tasty case study in deviousness. Page 3.

Exposure of FBI plots against socialists and many others provoked big headlines in nation's press

movement, is the way he reasoned it."

All the big newspapers and television and radio networks are owned by wealthy capitalists. They have an interest in how the dispute over the FBI and CIA is resolved. Commentary in the news media is a reflection of a discussion now going on in ruling circles.

There is wide agreement that both the FBI and CIA need a new coat of paint. That is the goal of the current investigations. The *New York Times* has urged "the slumbering F.B.I. oversight committees in Congress . . . to develop some clear new rules of conduct for the bureau."

Writing in the *Saturday Review*, former CIA official Tom Braden predicted, "Various committees now investigating the agency will doubtless find error. They will recommend change; they will reshuffle. But they will leave the monster intact."

At the same time the investigations carry a certain overhead. They can lead to uncovering new scandals that compound the problem of restoring credibility to the institutions. That's what is now happening with the new discoveries of CIA assassinations and FBI burglaries.

New FBI Director Clarence Kelley has already taken steps to improve the agency's image. He has given frequent news conferences and interviews, something Hoover shied away from. Local FBI offices, which have always refused to talk to the media, have been sending agents for special training in public relations.

The socialist suit raises more substantial questions than the FBI's image. It calls for a halt not only to Cointelpro-style harassment but to political surveillance. A short-lived victory was won last December when a federal judge banned FBI spying at the YSA convention. The temporary ruling was later substantially weakened by Supreme Court

Justice Thurgood Marshall.

"No responsible Government official now advocates a total ban on electronic surveillance," the *New York Times's* Horrocks wrote earlier this year. That remains true.

None of the editorials came out and squarely condemned spying. A couple of papers explicitly endorsed it.

The problem was that the FBI "went beyond keeping an eye on the group"—*Atlanta Journal*.

In an article on the congressional investigations into the FBI, Horrocks found, "The F.B.I. has been far less criticized for investigations leading to prosecutions than it was for its so-called 'counterintelligence program.'"

Attorney General Edward Levi offered a rather half-hearted criticism of Cointelpro on May 29. He labeled the operation "foolish because [it] doesn't work very well" and "outrageous because I think there's enough dishonesty and lack of candor and incivility in our society as it is."

'Benefit the nation'

FBI Director Kelley hasn't even gone that far. In fact, he openly defended Cointelpro at a July news conference. It was meant "to do something that would ultimately . . . benefit the nation," he said.

A top recently retired FBI official, former assistant director William A. Sullivan, was even more forthright in his endorsement of the conspiracy. On July 6 he appeared—with Kelley's blessings—on CBS-TV's "Face the Nation." A reporter asked about the anti-SWP Cointelpro. Sullivan was forced to admit that the SWP had done nothing illegal. "We have no evidence to this date that I know of that they've ever been involved in any violent activities," he said.

Then why is the FBI so interested in the SWP?

"This group advocates the overthrow of the United States government by force and violence." That is patently false. The SWP has replied to that slanderous allegation in answers to government questions submitted to the court in conjunction with the suit.

Sullivan endorsed sending letters to employers to get SWP members fired. "The only mistake that I think that we make in an instance like that was sending an anonymous letter and not signing J. Edgar Hoover's name to it. I think we owe the American people this type of information."

In an earlier interview with the University of California at Los Angeles campus paper, Sullivan was asked if there is "any law that allows the FBI to expose Communists." He said he knew of none. But, he added, "there is not any that I know of that say that we should not do this either."

Sullivan also told the UCLA paper that "Communists" are not entitled to equal protection under the law and are not entitled under the First Amendment to the Constitution to have private political associations.

An indication of the government's likely defense for its assault on the SWP can be seen in Larry McDonald's red-baiting tirades in the *Congressional Record*. McDonald unsuccessfully tries to link the SWP with terrorists in other countries. The Birchite claims his information comes from his own personal research, but it has all the earmarks of government intelligence.

Gains of the suit

What are the gains of the suit to date? In the first place, there is no reason to think that the information on FBI and CIA illegal activity made public so far would have ever seen the light of day without the initiative of the suit. These revelations have educated the American people on the antidemocratic way the employing class maintains its rule. The resulting public outrage has helped put the FBI on the defensive.

While there is also no reason to assume Cointelpro-type operations have stopped, potential exposure in the current political climate makes the FBI's job much harder.

The socialist legal action has pushed Cointelpro to the center of the debate around the FBI. Cointelpro, including its SWP-related aspects, was the main topic of questions at both Levi's May 29 news conference and Sullivan's appearance on "Face the Nation."

CIA spying against the SWP and YSA, revealed in documents released through the suit and given to the news media by PRDF on July 16, became a central part of the controversy surrounding that agency. The files show the CIA spied on the SWP since 1950, while the official Rockefeller commission report said CIA domestic surveillance began only in the late sixties.

The purpose of the suit is to defend the democratic rights of socialists and all working people. Already the exposures of these illegal actions and the response have begun to do that.

There is undoubtedly more to the story of the FBI's secret war on the SWP and the YSA and on others trying to change things than we now know. Even the Cointelpro papers the FBI has released are rigidly censored. More of these have been promised.

What the FBI has consented to turn over at this point is only the most polished reflection of what the agency has been doing: the files consist of heavily censored, brief summaries of Cointelpros and FBI dossiers on individuals. They have refused to open up what lies underneath—so-called raw files and other information that the FBI says might blow the cover on informers or "investigative methods." The congressional committees have reportedly had difficulty getting even limited access to this material. *Time* magazine said, "It seems unlikely that the courts will force agencies to release information that would compromise . . . FBI methods."

In response to suits to obtain files on the Alger Hiss and Julius and Ethel Rosenberg cases, which date back almost thirty years, the FBI is holding back information that it says will reveal "an extremely sensitive source."

The legal offensive to get out the full story of FBI crimes will continue. The work of the Political Rights Defense Fund deserves the continued support of all who believe in free speech.

The support so far has been impressive. Among the press, the *Tribune* of Lewiston, Idaho, seems to be the strongest backer of the suit. The Cointelpro "documents may help the party to win its \$27 million damage suit against the FBI," the *Tribune* wrote, "an outcome much to be desired even though the people most to blame would never pay a dime of it."

Lessons of hard-fought strike

Santa Clara public employees end walkout

By Robert West

SAN JOSE, Calif.—After a hard-fought strike of seventeen days, public employees in Santa Clara County, a large metropolitan area forty miles south of San Francisco, returned to work.

The walkout, which began July 1, initially affected more than 6,000 county workers covering job classifications from hospital workers to clerks, custodians, technicians, and social workers.

Most of the strikers belonged to Service Employees International Union Local 715. Also involved were several hundred social workers and probation workers represented by SEIU Local 535 and American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees Local 1587.

The walkout climaxed four months of bargaining, with the workers and their unions demanding an immediate 12 percent wage increase, improvements in benefits, an agency shop, reduced case loads for social workers, and the establishment of an affirmative-action program for minorities and women.

A leaflet issued by the strikers summed it up: "Like workers in private industry, we are faced with a decline in the purchasing power of our wages and the deterioration of our working conditions. . . . Our wages have not kept pace with runaway inflation. Many county workers are on welfare because they do not earn enough to support their families."

County management's response was a first-year offer of a 7 percent raise, to be followed by 4 percent in the second year of a two-year contract—with no major improvements in fringes, no



Six thousand county employees—hospital workers, clerks, social workers, and others—took part in seventeen-day walkout.

reduction of case loads, no agency shop, and no affirmative-action program.

The strike was viciously attacked by county management, local politicians, the courts, police, and the press, with the aim of demoralizing and humiliating the unions as an example to other public employees in the San Francisco Bay Area.

Denied food stamps

Among the tactics employed to try to defeat the strikers were the denial of food stamps and welfare aid to strikers and their families, the promise of "loyalty bonuses" to strikebreakers, court-issued back-to-work orders, injunctions limiting picketing, threats of

firings, and jailing of strikers.

Back-to-work orders and injunctions were immediately made available by the courts in an effort to break the strike in the first few days. Finally court clerks and reporters, who early in the strike refused to cross picket lines, were jailed by the courts as well.

Meanwhile, the local press was working overtime to turn public opinion against the unions, to sow confusion among the strikers, and to provoke a back-to-work movement.

Local politicians staged news conferences and interviews to blame county workers for all the ills of the public services and the mismanagement and do-nothing policies of county officials. Residents were "warned" time and

again that the strikers' demands would mean record tax increases.

In response to this threat, the workers distributed leaflets declaring: "Fair wages and benefits for workers and better services for the public need not mean higher taxes. Management claims that they must choose between a fair settlement and increased taxes. We believe that our high taxes are the result of unfair tax breaks for wealthy individuals and large corporations."

The strikers also asked why, if the county was as broke as it claimed, it was constructing a new \$10 million office building, and why county supervisors had recommended a 25 percent salary increase for themselves.

Unfortunately, the orchestrated attack on the strikers by management, the courts, politicians, and the press took its toll on the workers, who were faced with maintaining themselves and their families with no strike benefits or even minimal welfare aid.

At the beginning of the third week of the strike the probation workers broke ranks and went back to work. They received no wage increase and instead accepted the equivalent of a 7 percent first-year raise in benefits.

The strike weakened from that point until, on July 17, the strikers of Locals 715 and 535 voted to return to work.

Terms of settlement

The final settlement included a two-year contract in which all workers previously earning less than \$10,500 a year would receive a \$70-a-month raise and those earning more than \$10,500 would get a 7 percent increase plus an \$80 one-time bonus.

In the second year of the contract all

Continued on page 26

Cops assault strike pickets

Newark office workers battle insurance giant

By Michael Smith

NEWARK, N.J.—Fifteen hundred office workers, many of them Black women, are in the eighth week of their strike against New Jersey Blue Cross-Blue Shield.

The company is out to severely damage if not wreck their union, Local 32 of the Office and Professional Employees International Union.

On Friday, July 25, there were 250 pickets outside the downtown Newark skyscraper that is the state headquarters of the giant "nonprofit" corporation.

On Monday of that week, several unionists sitting at entryways had been beaten by scab-herding cops. "They didn't hit the men, just the women," a young Black woman told the *Militant*. "It took four cops to take one girl down."

"It sure tells you what side the government is on," commented another striker.

Thirty-four people, including Local 32 Business Agent John Ronches, were arrested and held incommunicado all that day.

One striker, Michael Werner, was

arrested when he objected to being called "fat boy." Werner was thrown into a police van along with four women, one of them pregnant. The inside of the unventilated van was like an oven, and when it began moving the strikers yelled out for air. The cops responded by jamming on the brakes, throwing them about.

When Werner said he was a Vietnam veteran and didn't expect to be treated like this, the cops said, "Big deal, hero."

Two days later the brutal police action was answered by a rally of 600 strikers.

As the picket line formed in front of the building on Friday and the scabs—virtually all of them white—gathered in a park across the street, Ronches talked to the *Militant* about the strike.

"This company says it's nonprofit. Yeah, nonprofit for us!" he said derisively. The average wage is \$4.82 an hour. The company is offering no promotional increases and a cost-of-living clause with a top limit of four cents an hour. Last year Duane Minard, president of New Jersey Blue Cross-Blue Shield, made \$100,000.

"Dump Duane," the pickets chanted, and "Blue Cross/Serves the boss/Blue Shield/We'll never yield."

Ronches said the company is trying to take away previously won contract benefits. "They don't want to pay for the first two days a worker is sick," he said. "And if they think we are faking, then they want the option to fire us. This issue went to arbitration last year and we won."

Ronches pointed to one striker's

sign: "Blue Cross—Double Cross."

"The second issue," he said, "is that the company wants to contract out our work. They are looking for cheaper, nonunion labor."

Just then sixty cops rushed out of the building and formed a cordon across the street from the park to the building. The scabs had gathered in a clump and a police captain was herding them into the building. A heated confrontation rapidly developed.

This scene took place three times that morning as new contingents of scabs were led in.

The workers have been out since June 4 and are drawing only twenty dollars a week in strike benefits. Back in March, Ronches said, the company boasted "that it is going to be their way or no way." Since the strike began the company has had only two brief meetings with the union.

Nevertheless only eleven strikers have gone back to work and there was no sentiment expressed to do so now. Ronches expressed the feelings of many: "They thought we were falling apart. We came back at them this week with three demonstrations."

Increased media coverage of the strike, although slanted against the strikers, is beginning to show the 4.3 million Blue Cross-Blue Shield subscribers in New Jersey that the company cares not about health but about profits. Public sympathy for the strikers is growing.

The Congress of African People, the Newark-based Black organization headed by Amiri Baraka, has been participating daily in the picket lines.



Militant picket lines of several hundred workers, nearly all of them women, have answered violence of scab-herding cops.

World Outlook

A WEEKLY INTERNATIONAL SUPPLEMENT TO THE MILITANT BASED ON SELECTIONS FROM INTERCONTINENTAL PRESS,
A NEWSMAGAZINE REFLECTING THE VIEWPOINT OF REVOLUTIONARY SOCIALISM.

AUGUST 8, 1975

Portuguese junta sends more troops to Angola as fighting erupts between nationalist groups

By Ernest Harsch

The Portuguese military junta's Revolutionary Council held an emergency session July 14 as the fighting flared again between rival nationalist groups in Angola. The council later announced that it had discussed reinforcing its army of 24,000 troops still stationed in the colony.

"Some 2,000 men consisting of an infantry battalion, an armored battalion and an artillery battalion, plus some paratroop and marine units, were reported to have been earmarked for Angola," *New York Times* correspondent Henry Giniger said in a July 15 dispatch from Lisbon.

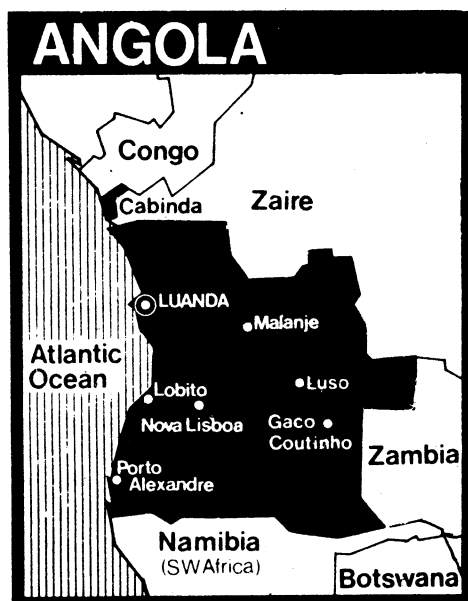
According to a United Press International dispatch, a Portuguese military representative in Luanda, Angola's capital, said July 15 that two plane-loads of Portuguese reinforcements had already arrived in Angola.

A Portuguese air force major in Lisbon, José Costa Martins, claimed the reinforcements would be used only to maintain Lisbon's "neutrality" in Angola until the colony is granted independence next November 11. "Active neutrality" is the phrase used by the Movimento das Forças Armadas (MFA—Armed Forces Movement) to cover continued intervention in Angola. The aim of the MFA is to safeguard Lisbon's imperialist interests there and to ensure that an independent Angola remains tied to the capitalist market.

MFA Forces in Clashes

Before leaving Lisbon for Angola July 13, Portuguese Foreign Minister Maj. Ernesto Melo Antunes said that the Portuguese troops in Angola might have to intervene in the fighting to prevent "massacres."

The MFA's forces had already taken



General Francisco da Costa Gomes (above) is part of new three-man triumvirate ruling Portugal. Their aim is to safeguard imperialist interests in Angola and ensure that the country remains open to capitalist investment.



part in the clashes, according to a Reuters dispatch filed the day before. "Portuguese troops and a joint force of the three nationalist movements sought to quell the fighting," the British news agency reported. "Some of the troops were ordered to shoot on sight any armed civilians." On July 14, it was reported that ten Portuguese soldiers had been wounded in the fighting.

Unrest in Portugal itself makes it difficult for the MFA to intervene massively in Angola. "The dispatch of more troops," Giniger noted, "was considered an almost desperate measure because of its unpopularity both with the troops themselves and the civilian population."

If the MFA is unable to control the situation in Angola, the junta may turn to its imperialist allies. On July 13

Major Antunes said the MFA might ask the United Nations to intervene. The dispatch of such a UN "peace keeping" force would be a major setback for the Angolan independence struggle.

The resumption of armed clashes in Luanda between the Movimento Popular de Libertação de Angola (MPLA—People's Movement for the Liberation of Angola) and the Frente Nacional de Libertação de Angola (FNLA—Angolan National Liberation Front) began July 9, marking a complete breakdown of the cease-fire accords reached June 19. They soon escalated into major battles in which automatic weapons, bazookas, and heavy mortars were used. Some reports described the situation in the city as one of "open war."

It appears that the MPLA launched a concerted drive to force its main rival from Luanda, where many of the clashes between the feuding nationalists have taken place since the MPLA, FNLA, and UNITA (União Nacional para Independência Total de Angola—National Union for the Total Independence of Angola) entered a coalition regime with the Portuguese in January.

MPLA Control of 'Muceques'

The FNLA offices in Luanda were reported to have been destroyed after five days of fighting. In addition, the July 15 *Washington Post* reported, FNLA "bases were set on fire as mortar and artillery bombardments continued in the city." By July 14, most of the FNLA's military forces were reported to have been driven out of the capital, with the exception of several hundred troops garrisoned in the São Pedro da Barra Fort overlooking Luanda harbor. As of July 19, the

fort was under an MPLA siege.

In a July 16 dispatch from Luanda, *New York Times* reporter Charles Mohr said the MPLA appeared to have gained control of the *muceques*, the African slum areas surrounding Luanda. "One indication of its [the MPLA's] new dominance," Mohr said, "was last evening's national radio broadcast, which carried only its political statements."

It was estimated that 300 persons, most of them civilians, have been killed since the fighting resumed on July 9. About 1,500 were thought to have been wounded.

"Life in Luanda was reported to have come to a halt," *Manchester Guardian* correspondent António de Figueiredo said in a July 14 dispatch from Lisbon, "with many buildings on fire and only one hospital still in operation. Food supplies were completely disrupted and many hotels, restaurants, and other services had had to close."

Thousands of refugees, both African and Portuguese, fled the *muceques* for the downtown area. In addition, many of the Bakongo living in Luanda were reported to be fleeing the city for northern Angola. (The FNLA gets much of its support from the Bakongo.)

The FNLA charged July 11 that the MPLA had provoked the fighting. It put its military units throughout the country on a "permanent state of alert" and ordered its troops to "resist the military coup launched by Lisbon and its agents in Angola."

The National Defense Council, on which the three nationalist groups and the Portuguese are represented, condemned the MPLA for the recent clashes. However, the Portuguese high commissioner in Angola, Gen. Silva Cardoso, also accused the FNLA of attacking civilians.

Although the bulk of the FNLA's forces were driven from Luanda for the time being, Interior Minister N'gola Kabangu and other FNLA leaders in the coalition regime remained in the city, participating in talks with the MPLA, UNITA, and Portuguese officials.

Charles Mohr reported from Luanda July 17, "Well-informed sources said they believed that only a face-saving formula that would permit the political leaders of the locally defeated National Front [FNLA] to remain in the city could prevent a breakup of the transitional coalition government, which was formed to prepare for full independence from Portugal on Nov. 11."

Whatever temporary agreements the rival nationalist groups may sign, the expulsion of the FNLA units from Luanda has thrown the fragile coalition regime into a crisis that may be the prelude to full-scale civil war.

MPLA Demands: 'Portugal Out Now'

The Movimento Popular de Libertação de Angola (MPLA—People's Movement for the Liberation of Angola) demanded on July 28 the total withdrawal of Portuguese troops from Angola. According to a July 29 dispatch from Lisbon in the *New York Times*, the Movimento das Forças Armadas (MFA—Armed Forces Movement) rejected the demand and "insisted today on Portugal's continued responsibility in the process of ending colonial rule in Angola."

MPLA's new demand followed July 27 reports that Portuguese troops had opened fire on MPLA forces at their headquarters in a suburb of Luanda, killing at least twenty and wounding another

twenty-two. The assault by the Portuguese colonial forces apparently followed an unsuccessful attempt to disarm MPLA soldiers at the building after a Portuguese officer had been wounded the previous night.

Newspaper reports in Portugal on the latest developments led the military regime to clamp censorship on all news from Angola. This is the first time the MFA has imposed official censorship since the overthrow of the Salazarist dictatorship.

"There's a state of prewar in Angola and distorted news could have a negative effect on Portuguese troops there and even here at home," the minister of information, Comdr. Jorge Correia Jesuino, explained.

Workers being forced to pay for crisis

Israel dock workers' strike gives preview of coming

By M. Halevy

JERUSALEM—The strike by workers at the main fuel depot in the port of Ashkelon has ended. They were unable to hold out alone against the state apparatus and all its institutions—Histadrut, the entire spectrum of Zionist parties—and a significant section of the working class.

Despite the fact that it ended in a defeat, the strike has set an example. Both the methods of struggle used in it and the limits imposed on it give an indication of what strikes called by the Israeli working class in the near future will be like.

The coming strikes will be called in response to the considerable drop in workers' buying power and to the massive unemployment whose first signs are already being felt. And if Israeli workers want to prevent the social crisis of the Zionist state from being resolved at their expense, they will have to draw the lessons of the Ashkelon strike.

The strike began in mid-March when the bosses of the Oléoduc Eilat-Ashkelon Company announced that more than half the workers would be laid off. They immediately went out on strike but agreed to return to work after the courts, the police, and Histadrut stepped in.

Commission Established

An agreement was signed between the bosses and the members of the Dock Workers Committee. Among other things it called for the establishment of a commission that would decide whether there was good cause for the layoffs and what part of the work would go to a private contractor the company wanted to hire to do the job. Heading the commission was one of the leaders of Histadrut.

The commission's findings clearly favored the company. But the company's chief executive, Reserve Gen. A. Botser, refused to accept its recommendations, mainly those concerning the private contractor.

The dock workers knew that their right to work was at stake and that General Botser had long ago decided to increase profits at their expense. They decided to go back out on strike to fight



Houses of poor Israelis. Tremendous cost of maintaining Zionist war machine is driving down standard of living of working class.

the layoffs. This decision—lining up sixty-six dock workers against the Zionist state—led to a test of strength unparalleled since the maritime strike of 1952.

According to the law, delegates representing the dock workers were supposed to appear before the labor court to receive formal notice that their strike was illegal, which it clearly was since it had not received the approval of Histadrut. However, after going into hiding to avoid being served with a summons, the delegates decided to return to the method of struggle they had tried in the previous strike. They seized the convoy boats and set out for sea.

This plunged them further into illegality. On two occasions they forcibly prevented strikebreakers hired by the private contractor from docking oil tankers. At the same time they issued statements—of which only garbled excerpts were published by the press—stressing their determination to continue the struggle until they received guarantees that there would be no layoffs.

Lined up against the Ashkelon strikers were all the forces of reaction that could be mustered. The government declared war on the Ashkelon "saboteurs." Histadrut excluded them

from its "trade union" organizations. The press was unanimous in denouncing them and demanding the use of force to obtain respect for "trade-union order." A special session of the Knesset was devoted to the strike, and apart from the Communist party and the "left Zionists" of Moked, the members called for the use of the most forceful means possible against these enemies of the people and the state.

While the debate was under way, a virtual naval battle took place in Ashkelon harbor as police in patrol boats tried to arrest the strikers. The police launches were put out of commission, one of them cut almost in half by the strikers, and a number of policemen took a plunge into the sea. The police began to fire into the air. In parliament, the use of the police was approved. The pathetic cries of [Itshak] Ben-Aharon, former secretary of Histadrut, against the use of armed force were lost in the reactionary hysteria of his associates in the Labor party.

Contradictory Effect

The use of the police and the firing of the shots had a contradictory effect on the working class. Some organized sectors, including the dockers, the miners at Temna, and the merchant marine, reacted in a positive way, some going so far as to threaten to walk off the job if it happened again. But the bulk of the workers held the Ashkelon strikers responsible for the police being called in, and criticized them for having dared to defend themselves and confront the police. As for the Histadrut leadership, it was unable to avoid lodging a verbal complaint against the use of force in a labor conflict, but continued to attack the strikers.

No more attempts were made to arrest the strikers on the high sea, but the tanker port of Ashkelon remained under a "state of siege" and the manhunt against the sixty-six longshoremen continued. By the end of the strike about twenty of them were already behind bars. Most of them had been arrested during crew changes on the boats or when meeting their comrades at a rendezvous along the coast to replenish their supplies.

As the days passed it became increasingly clear that the strikers re-

mained isolated, that the government had made a firm decision to break them, and that the strike would end in a defeat. On June 9 the strikers gave in. Those who had not already been arrested were indicted not only for having taken over the company's boats in the current strike but also retroactively for having done so during the strike in March.

Furthermore, the company demanded that the four strike delegates pay about \$100,000 in damages and interest. Negotiations between the company and representatives of Histadrut continued, but the strikers were defeated and will have to accept the layoffs of their comrades.

Despite its defeat, the Ashkelon dockworkers' strike has a significance that goes far beyond this specific conflict. Although it was a "small" strike, it is one of the half-dozen social conflicts in the twenty-eight-year history of the Zionist state that have left their mark in the class struggle.

New Generation

First of all, it was a militant strike. A new generation of worker militants that emerged during the boom period following the 1967 war is beginning to enter the arena. This new generation is different from the one that preceded it. It is made up of workers who were either born in or grew up in Israel. They have much looser ties with Histadrut and were brought up to believe that the state "belongs to them," that they are in no way obligated to shoulder the cost of the capitalists' economic crisis.

At the same time, they do not have the class consciousness (overlaid with a musty veneer of populism) that marked the first generation of worker militants, educated in Western and Eastern Europe. This latter characteristic—populism—was, however, present throughout the Ashkelon strike. The high degree of militancy was reflected more in courageous and exemplary actions than in efforts to bring about a favorable relationship of forces, the precondition for any victory. The Ashkelon dockers have serious doubts about Histadrut, but this has not yet led to a consciousness of the need to establish independent forms of working-class organization.

The most significant factor in the Ashkelon strike was the isolation of the strikers. This itself can be traced to two factors. First, the lack of preparation in this regard by the strikers themselves. Second, the extremely low level of working-class solidarity, owing to the lack of working-class organs on one hand and the effectiveness of government propaganda on the other.

That explains why the government had no great difficulty in breaking the strike. This despite the fact that the strike raised issues of national significance—the question of layoffs, which affects the entire working class; and the use of the police—and should have led to the mobilization of the entire Israeli work force.

Atomization of the working class and integrating it into the "National Union" remain the chief goal of the Zionist state. And although sectors of the working class continue to step outside the framework of this "National Union" to defend their immediate



Young Israelis protest austerity policy in earlier demonstration. Ashkelon strike reflects changing moods in younger generation of working class.

World news notes

struggles facing regime

interests, they do not have an overall understanding of the need to assert themselves as a class that stands in opposition to the "national interest."

This atomization and the lack of even the most elementary working-class solidarity give the left groups a responsibility that is out of proportion to their actual strength. This was demonstrated during the Ashkelon strike, just as it was during the Ashdod strike in 1969.

There was a difference, however. In 1969, in the midst of a war of attrition mounted by the government, only the anti-Zionists of Matzpen supported the strikers, who were under attack from all the political parties and the population as a whole. This time, a common front was established, the Committee for the Defense of the Ashkelon Strikers. It included not only the anti-Zionist groups but also the "socialist Zionists" of the Sia'h and student supporters of Moked.

The committee was the only organization—apart from the CP, which spoke out in the Knesset and the Histadrut Central Committee—to defend the strikers unconditionally and to organize protests and solidarity on their behalf. Despite the 7,000 leaflets that were distributed at factory gates and in the universities, the solidarity demonstration drew no more than about 200 persons, including the wives of the strikers. But this demonstration was the only concrete expression of solidarity with the Ashkelon workers.

In addition to their participation in the support committee, the revolutionary Marxists of the Revolutionary Communist League (Matzpen) put forward their own position in a leaflet that was distributed in large quantities. It focused on two points.

- Working-class solidarity and independent organization of the workers, based on delegated committees independent of Histadrut.

- A sliding scale of hours and wages to eliminate massive unemployment.

In its statement, the RCL also sought to show the link between the workers' social situation and their demands on the one hand, and the

Zionist state on the other. To point up the contradiction between the interests of the workers and the interests of the state, the RCL raised the slogan: "A people that oppresses another people cannot be free."

The political and openly anti-Zionist content of the RCL's statement clearly demarcated the group from the economism and reformism of the other left groups. This was noticed by the strikers, who, in their contacts with RCL members, for the first time caught a glimpse of an overall solution to the problems that concern them.

In confronting for the first time the full weight of the Zionist state, the Ashkelon workers—like the Ashdod workers before them—were accused of being traitors to the national cause, and thus found themselves compelled to view their problems in a political framework. And, as happened with the Ashdod dockers, the Ashkelon longshoremen will from now on see political questions in a different light.

'Hot Summer'

"It is going to be a hot summer," the secretary-general of the Histadrut said. In point of fact, beginning in July the tax reform, the renewal of contracts, and the cost-of-living bonus will bring the workers into contact with the government and the bosses. But as Ygal Sh'hori, a longshoremen's delegate, told us: "It will be a hot summer if the workers draw the lessons of our defeat and unite to respond to the bosses' attack."

Unity of the workers—outside of and in opposition to Histadrut—would certainly assure their ability to defend their living standard and jobs. But this unity requires development of consciousness of their interests as a class, that is, the demystification of Zionist propaganda and its slogans of "national unity" and "national interest." At present only the anti-Zionist revolutionists are prepared to mount an active propaganda campaign around this theme. This makes their intervention into the present crisis of Zionist society ten times more important.



Israelis face soaring inflation. Workers must learn lessons of militant dockers' strike to prevent social crisis from being resolved at their expense.

Baader-Meinhof trial

The trial of Andreas Baader, Ulrike Meinhof, Gudrun Ensslin, and Jan-Carl Stefan Raspe is under way in West Germany. Members of the Red Army Faction, the four have been imprisoned for three full years waiting to stand trial on charges of murder, being responsible for a series of bombings, and forming a "criminal association." In preparation for a big show trial, the government spent several million dollars constructing a special fortress-like court building. It's supposed to provide protection from terrorist attacks.

After two attorneys publicized the inhuman conditions under which the defendants are being kept, authorities removed them from the case and later arrested them on charges of "supporting a criminal association." The judge in the case has refused a new attorney's request to delay the trial so that he can study the extensive material related to the case.

Defense attorneys have requested an independent medical examination of their clients. Although he has cleared them to stand trial, the prison doctor has admitted that never in his twenty years at the job has he seen prisoners held under such conditions.

Holger Meins was also set to go on trial now with the other defendants, but he died during a hunger strike last November. The defense has tried without success to have the judge removed from the case. The four say he did nothing to prevent Meins's death.

In a related development, police in early July arrested Dierk Hoff, a Frankfurt metal craftsman, and charged him with providing the defendants with explosives. "I am anything but a terrorist," Hoff says.

Italian CP hits attack on Czechoslovak professor

A police raid on the home of Czechoslovak philosopher Karel Kosik by the Stalinist regime in Prague has prompted protests from the French writer and philosopher Jean-Paul Sartre and the Italian Communist party.

Police entered Kosik's home on April 28 and after a six-hour search confiscated more than a thousand pages of an unpublished philosophical manuscript. They accused him of concealing writings that would show he was engaged in criminal action of "subversion against the Republic," a charge that carries a one- to five-year prison sentence.

Kosik was a longtime member of the Czechoslovak Communist party—until his expulsion in 1969—and one of its acknowledged leading theoreticians until his removal from the faculty of philosophy at Prague's Charles University in 1970. He was one among some fifty intellectuals subjected to new police harassment earlier this year. He reported that the police also confiscated the manuscripts of the writers Ivan Klima and Ludvig Vaculik.

Following the police raid, Kosik wrote to Sartre and described the situation of himself and others who had come under government attack.

Activists in Honduras peasant struggle murdered

The bodies of seven persons involved in the Honduran land-reform movement were found in a well in the eastern part of the country, according to a July 18 government announcement. One of those killed, Rev. Michael Jerome Cypher, was named barely two weeks before as the most wanted man in Honduras. He was accused of inciting a peasant rebellion.

Cypher and the others disappeared at the time of a June 25 clash between Honduran troops and a peasant demonstration of 12,000. The peasants were marching on the capital demanding implementation of land-reform promises.

Although the government of Col. Juan Alberto Melger Castro promised speedy land reform when he came to power April 31, peasant federations have accused the regime of being more sympathetic to the interests of the landowners than to agrarian reform.

Most land in Honduras is in the hands of about 100 cattle-raising families and the U.S. banana companies United Brands and Standard Fruit. Eighty-seven percent of the country's three million people are peasants living at a subsistence level.

Iranian dissident forced to renounce views

The Iranian dictatorship has forced Dr. Gholamhossein Sa'edi, Iran's best-known playwright, to make a public recantation of his views.

Sa'edi was arrested by agents of SAVAK, the shah's secret police, in June 1974. He was released in March 1975 following an international campaign on his behalf but was forced under torture to make a videotaped statement supporting the regime.

The shah published the statement in the June 19 issue of the government-controlled daily *Kayhan*. In it, Sa'edi called his writings "a bunch of trash" and said that "thanks to the wise leadership of the Shah of Shahs, the Light of the Aryans, Iran has achieved comprehensive progress, which has had great reflections on the international scene."

Following the taping of the statement, the Committee for Artistic and Intellectual Freedom in Iran sent a telegram to the shah April 4 stating that "such extractions of statements against one's convictions reflect not Sa'edi's views but disclose the nature of his torturers."

'Victory for peace and progress'

Iranian Stalinists hail shah's betrayal of Kurds

By Majid Namvar

According to an announcement by Iran's foreign minister, Abbas Khalatbari, June 14, "all differences between Iran and Iraq are settled." Among the main points of the eighty-page treaty signed in Baghdad June 13, he said, was an agreement to prevent "infiltration from either state to the other, through cooperative security actions."

Since the signing of the initial accord between the two regimes March 5, the Iranian government-controlled press has dealt with various aspects of the agreement with much fanfare. The emphasis has tended to be on Baghdad's willingness to curb activities in Iraq directed against the shah.

Jumping on the shah's bandwagon, the pro-Moscow Tudeh (Communist) party of Iran has also greeted the March 5 accord, hailing the resulting setback to the Kurdish national minority in Iraq as "a victory for peace and progress." In an article headlined "Defeat of Imperialist Plot Is a Victory for Peace and Progress," *Mardom* (no. 133), the fortnightly organ of the Tudeh party, published in exile, gave the following assessment of the Baghdad-Tehran accord:

"Normalization of the relationship between Iran and Iraq; ending the armed resistance by the Kurdish reaction in northern Iraq; and the establishment of peace in the border area of the two countries will all help reduce the existing tension in this region."

Shah Halts Aid

Before signing the March 5 accord in Algiers, the shah had provided military assistance to the Kurdish rebels fighting for autonomy in Iraq. This was intended primarily to weaken his neighboring rival power. It had the added benefit of putting pressure on the Baghdad regime for a settlement, favorable to the shah, of a long-standing dispute over navigation rights in the Shatt-al-Arab waterway, which forms part of the border between the two countries.

The shah's aid to the Kurds was immediately halted with the signing of the Algiers accord. From his point of view, such assistance had always been a double-edged blade. While useful against Baghdad, it also helped pave the way for the Kurdish national movement to spread beyond the Iraqi borders and encourage a similar rebellion in Iranian Kurdistan.

The shah expressed this fear early this year in an interview in the Kuwaiti newspaper *al-Siasseh* (reprinted in the January 11 issue of the Tehran daily *Kayhan*). When asked about his views on the Kurdish struggle for autonomy, the shah said: "The talk has always been about Kurdish autonomy inside Iraq, not outside of that country. . . in any case, we don't support the idea of a separatist Kurdistan."

In April, in a display of good faith toward the Iraqi dictatorship, the shah made clear his attitude toward the Kurdish rebels when he ordered the execution of two Kurds who had hijacked an Iraqi plane and flown it to Tehran.

Following the line of Moscow's support to the Iraqi regime's effort to crush the Kurdish struggle, both the Tudeh party and the Iraqi Communist party have praised the policies of what they claim is a "progressive" regime in Baghdad. In the case of the Iraqi CP,



which has held two posts in the cabinet since May 1972, the local Stalinists have in fact assumed direct responsibility for the campaign to destroy the Kurdish liberation struggle.

The Iranian Stalinists, on the other hand, have been able to display their support to the Iraqi regime only by waging a slander campaign in their press against the Kurdish freedom fighters.

Following the resumption of open warfare between the Iraqi army and the Kurdish guerrilla forces in March 1974, the Tudeh party tried to explain how the Kurds, in fighting against their national oppression, were being used as a "tool of imperialism." The Tudeh party even claimed that Kurdish discontent was a direct result of imperialist agitation:

"... Giving the right of self-determination to Iraqi Kurdistan, as recently announced by the government, has resulted from the republic's correct policy and is a positive and progressive act.

"But the American and British imperialists and local reactionaries, including the shah of Iran, are determined enemies of any peaceful solution of the Arab-Kurdish conflict.

"By manipulating the right wing of the Kurdish Democratic party, these reactionary forces are trying to divert the party from its correct path and compel it to reject the peaceful road and the autonomy proposal, and instead move toward bloodshed and killing."

This is a theme frequently played in the Tudeh press. In it, the Iranian Stalinists follow their usual practice of distorting the facts, both in terms of

their description of the policy of the Iraqi regime and in terms of their "explanation" of the motor force behind the Kurdish struggle.

In regard to the "autonomy" plan Baghdad proposed in March 1974, readers of *Mardom* are not likely to learn about a number of clauses that were not part of the original agreement between the government and the Kurdish nationalists. In fact, it was the inclusion of these clauses and the government's refusal to abide by the autonomy agreement it signed with the Kurds in 1970 that led to the breakdown of the four-year truce.

Included in what Tudeh calls the "right of self-determination to Iraqi Kurdistan" were such strings as granting the Iraqi government power to arbitrarily select the head of the Kurdish executive council; power to dissolve the Kurdish legislative council; and acceptance of its refusal to recognize the Kurds' demand for establishing definite regional borders.

Baghdad's violation of these basic points prepared the ground for further assault on the Kurdish national movement. The Iraqi regime's final offensive, begun after the signing of the initial agreement with the shah, was hailed by the Iranian Stalinists in *Mardom*, no. 133:

"Before fleeing they [the Kurdish leaders] made a useless attempt to stop the advance of the Iraqi army. But it was late, too late! In a telegram signed by the 'Political Bureau' of the Iraqi party of Kurdistan, this reactionary group asked [Iraqi President] Hassan al-Bakr to agree to a settlement of differences through negotiations. In reply, the Iraqi government reaffirmed the 1974 autonomy terms and asked them to take advantage of the general amnesty and surrender themselves to the Iraqi officials."

Baghdad's rulers predictably rejected proposals for negotiations, and on March 7 six divisions of the Iraqi army began the attack that eventually defeated the Kurdish guerrilla forces.

'Demagogic Slogans'

In explaining the social basis for the Kurdish rebellion, the Tudeh party has resorted to further distortion of the facts. It argues that imperialist

"manipulation" ignited the flames of Kurdish nationalist sentiment; and it ascribes the widespread support of the freedom struggle to "demagogic slogans" used by the "Kurdish reactionary group."

Even the Stalinists should know that something more powerful than "demagogic slogans" is needed to arouse the masses of an oppressed nationality. The fact is that the Kurds, whose homeland is divided between Iran, Iraq, Turkey, Syria, and the Soviet Armenian Republic, are an oppressed population. They speak a language that is different from the "official" languages used in those countries and have their own distinct history and culture. The basis of their discontent is that they have been denied their right to self-determination.

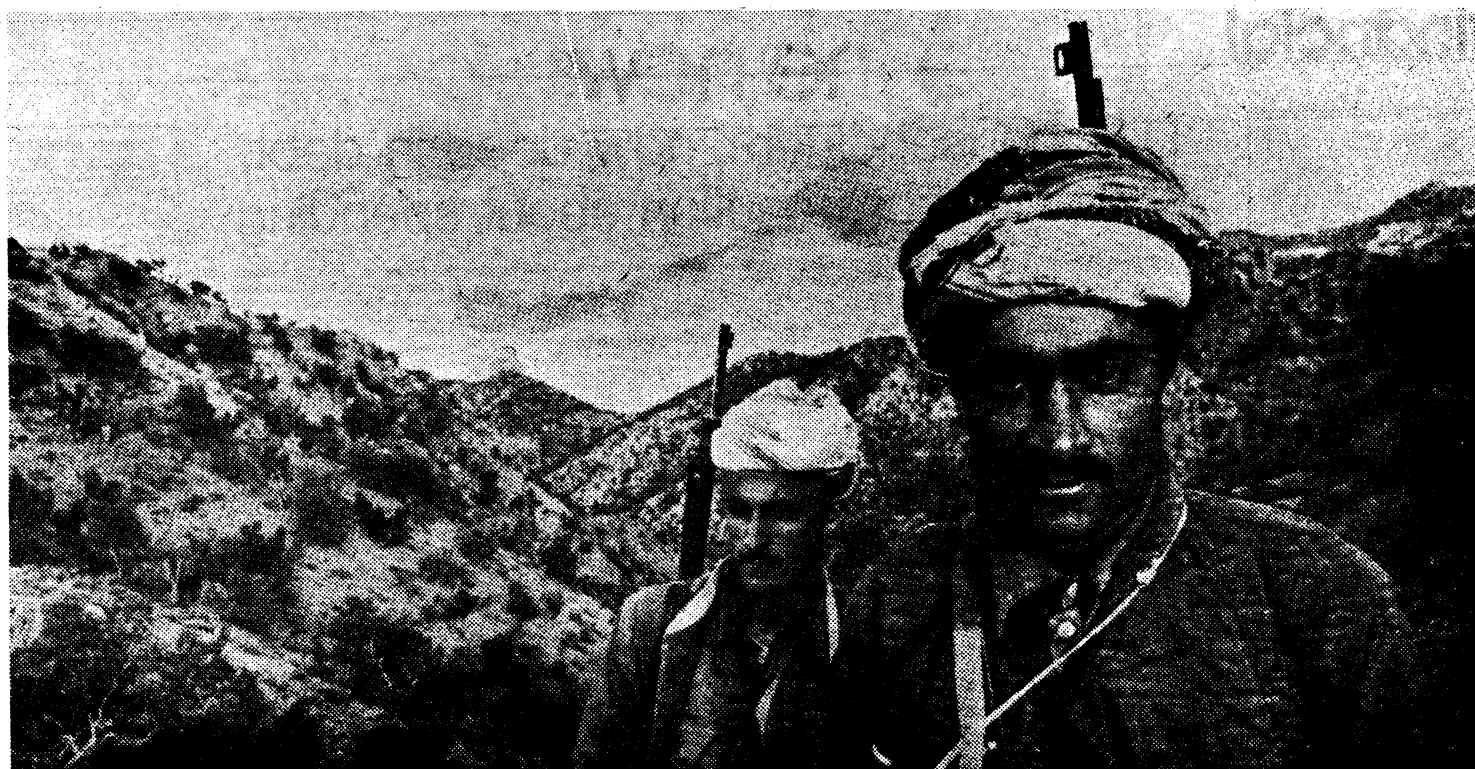
Concrete Form

For example, the oppression of the Kurdish people in Iran takes a very concrete form. Although they number between three and four million, the Iranian Kurds are deprived of the elementary rights of teaching their language in schools or publishing books in it.

In concluding their declaration of support to the shah's deal with the Iraqi regime, the Tudeh party seized the opportunity to draw a lesson for the Kurdish masses of Iran:

"... the defeat of the Kurdish reaction on the one hand, and the government's application of the autonomy terms on the other, is a warning to the Kurdish people in Iran. It shows that in multinational countries the only way for nationalities to achieve their national rights . . . is to collaborate with the progressive and democratic forces."

The Tudeh party's betrayal of the Kurdish struggle in favor of support to such "progressive forces" as the Iraqi Baathist dictatorship coincides with what we have been accustomed to expect from them. If the narrow diplomatic interests of the Kremlin bureaucracy call for abandoning the most elementary principles of proletarian internationalism and stabbing the Kurdish movement in the back, the Iranian Stalinists are prepared to help give the blade a twist.



Shah, who feared uprising of oppressed Kurds in Iran, cut off aid to Kurdish rebels in Iraq (pictured above) in return for favorable settlement of border dispute with that country.

Camejo joins Cleve. strikers on picket line

By Bruce Kimball

CLEVELAND—Socialist presidential candidate Peter Camejo brought his campaign here for the first time during a week's tour of Ohio July 17-24. Midway through his Cleveland stay, 3,600 members of the American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees went on strike to demand a new contract with wage increases, including a cost-of-living escalator clause.

Camejo joined the strikers on their picket lines, counterposing his party's solutions for the economic crisis to the city's moans of a "budgetary crisis."

"The Democrats say they're for us," Camejo said to one striker, "but they're never here when we need them."

"I agree with you 100 percent," the striker responded.

Another striker pointed out, "Everything's going up except the pay scale."

Camejo and a group of his supporters distributed the Socialist Workers party campaign platform, "A Bill of Rights for Working People," which calls for escalator clauses in union contracts. Rather than using the underestimated price increases from the Labor Department's Consumer Price Index, the platform says, these automatic wage increases "should be pegged to the real rate of inflation as determined by committees set up by unions and consumer groups."

In Toledo, Camejo spoke to thirty members of the Farm Labor Organizing Committee. FLOC is involved in a



Socialist presidential candidate Peter Camejo (left) walks picket line with city workers in Cleveland. 'Everything's going up except the pay scale,' one striker said.

campaign to organize farm workers, food-processing workers, and small farmers in Ohio and Michigan.

Camejo talked and answered questions in Spanish for more than an hour and was well received by the FLOC organizers. He stressed the importance of organizing all farm laborers, including undocumented Mexican workers, and of remaining independent of the Democratic and Republican parties.

Camejo also attended the Kent State trial proceedings in Cleveland to express his solidarity with the parents of

four students murdered by national guardsmen in May 1970 and the nine who were wounded. The parents and students have filed a \$48 million damage suit against guardsmen and their superiors, Gov. James Rhodes, and former Kent State president Robert White.

The trial, now in its third month, has heard testimony from one guardsman who admitted lying in 1970 about finding a gun on one of the slain students, and from the commander of the guard unit patrolling the campus,

who said, "I saw no reason to fire, and concern for my safety never crossed my mind."

During his visit in Ohio, Camejo appeared on three television programs. On one of these, a Cleveland talk show called "Morning Exchange," Camejo offered an example of workers' control of production. "Suppose that everyone who worked in this studio had a say in how it was run," Camejo said. This brought nods of agreement from the TV crew, and someone yelled from the background, "Right on!"

After the show, one of the show's production assistants asked him, "But wouldn't the boss object to that idea?"

"He would get one vote," Camejo answered.

The highlight of the tour was a banquet celebrating the opening of the new SWP campaign headquarters in Cleveland.

FLOC head Baldemar Valasquez brought greetings to the meeting from his Toledo-based group.

The campaign event also celebrated the successful completion of a petition drive to collect 12,000 signatures to put Cleveland SWP mayoral candidate Robert Bresnahan and school board candidate Christine Gauvreau on the ballot for the 1975 elections.

Attended by 120 supporters, the banquet was one of the largest socialist campaign events held in Cleveland in recent years. Four people decided to join the Young Socialist Alliance afterward.

'Joanne Little—the victim, not the criminal'

By Cathy Love

WASHINGTON—"When Joanne Little resisted Clarence Alligood, the white jailer down in Beaufort County, North Carolina, she was resisting for millions of sisters and brothers in jails across the country," Socialist Workers party vice-presidential candidate Willie Mae Reid told an audience in Washington, D.C., July 19.

"When she fought back against the violent attack of the rapist, she was fighting back for half the population struggling to control our own bodies and to eliminate our status as property."

"When she decided to stay and challenge North Carolina's laws, it dramatized the struggle of twenty-two million Blacks to eliminate discrimination found in many different places—in jails, in jobs, in housing, in education."

Reid's remarks were directed to 100 of her supporters gathered at a campaign meeting at the end of her three-day visit to Washington, D.C. She had spent the three days preceding her Washington tour at the opening of Little's trial in Raleigh, North Carolina.

"Ford sits and applauds for the

rendezvous in space and talks about peace," Reid continued, "when he's already admitted he wouldn't hesitate in taking the first step to use nuclear weapons."

"Everywhere they turn, the rulers of this country expose their blatant disregard for humanity. They sink lower and lower to maintain their power. The Joanne Little case is just one more exposure. The Joanne Little case shows that the capitalist class is really committed to maintaining racial and sexual oppression."

"Little's case has far-reaching consequences. And the authorities in North Carolina understand that too. If they can get a conviction for Little, it will be a measure of how successful they can be in maintaining their brutal control. It will be a measure of how successful their counterparts everywhere can be in maintaining their ruthless authority to keep people helpless and oppressed."

"That's where we come in—you and me and all the ordinary women and men across the country who have come forward to say that Joanne Little is the victim, not the criminal. She must be freed!"



Willie Mae Reid, SWP vice-presidential candidate, being interviewed by Washington, D.C., TV station.

The campaign event also launched the candidacy of Brenda Brdar for school board from Washington's Ward One.

Brdar outlined the deteriorating educational situation of D.C. schools, including the latest budget slash of

\$8.7 million. This will mean firing 3 percent of the city's teachers and ending construction on seven schools.

Both the school board and school superintendent Barbara Sizemore have supported Congress's cutbacks, but the board is now trying to make Sizemore the scapegoat. Blaming Sizemore for all the city's educational ills, the board has embarked on a campaign to have her fired.

Brdar proposed instead the socialist solution for curing the ills of D.C. schools. This includes reallocating funds from military purposes to education, allowing for an increase in the number of teachers, bilingual programs where necessary, and free education through the college level.

Individuals delivering greetings to the meeting included Maude White Wilkinson, the socialist teacher targeted for an FBI poison-pen letter campaign in 1969; Abe Bloom from the Committee for the Bill of Rights; and Josephine Butler from the Statehood party.

All three gave their enthusiastic support to the SWP 1976 campaign. "Peter Camejo and Willie Mae Reid are the best candidates we've seen for a long time—maybe ever," Butler said.

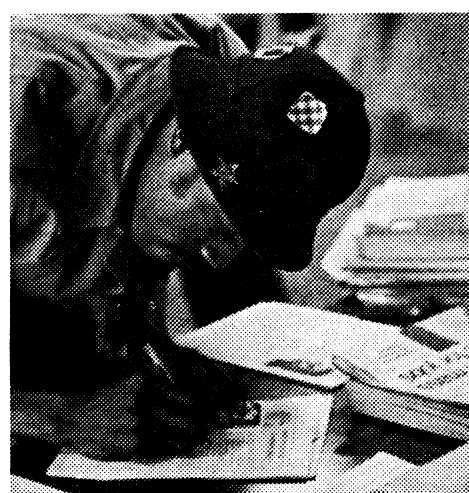
Sign up to campaign for '76 socialist candidates

"Join the Socialist Workers Campaign" headlines a new volunteer card issued by the Socialist Workers 1976 National Campaign Committee. Peter Camejo and Willie Mae Reid are the SWP candidates for president and vice-president. The new campaign item is a self-mailing (when folded, sealed, and affixed with a ten-cent stamp) "sign-up" sheet for new supporters.

"We found during our first seven months of campaigning," says Andrea Morell of the national campaign staff, "that many people want to do more than just sign a card giving us their endorsement. They want to do something to move the campaign forward. They want to join us in campaigning."

The card invites new volunteers to check their preference for campaign activity, ranging from graphics and media projects to campaigning in Spanish-speaking communities. It also allows those entirely new to the socialist alternative to check a box for more information, including a free copy of the campaign platform, "A Bill of Rights for Working People."

Campaign activists should find these cards invaluable in winning new supporters to the Camejo-Reid ticket. They can be ordered for fifty cents per hundred from: Socialist Workers 1976 National Campaign Committee, 14 Charles Lane, New York, New York 10014.



Militant/Charles Ostrofsky
Volunteers are urged to sign up for Camejo/Reid campaign activities.

Philadelphia: the struggle for school desegregation



By Duncan Williams

PHILADELPHIA—"Watching it all, I have a dreadful feeling of *déjà vu*—of having seen it all before. . . . Last September a federal judge ordered busing to integrate Boston's schools. . . .

"Now a federal court is about to make its move on Philadelphia. . . .

"Busing, like Frankenstein's monster, seems to have gotten life of its own and threatens to take the whole city down."

These remarks of Herbert Lipson, publisher of *Philadelphia Magazine*, reflect the attitude of a wide range of commentators, administrators, and legislators here who are opposed to the right of the Black community to achieve equal education through school desegregation.

The racists here speak the same language as those in Boston: they are for "neighborhood schools" (read: privileged white schools) and "quality education" (but better quality for whites), and against "forced busing."

When Lipson refers to busing as "Frankenstein's monster" he is only being more literary than the racists in the far Northeast section of the city; they say "No niggers."

In the "city of brotherly love" racist discrimination and oppression run rampant.

The median income for Black families is only 72 percent of that for white families. Unemployment is 76 percent higher for Blacks than for whites. Unemployment for young Blacks is as high as 43 percent in some parts of the city.

Philadelphia is nearly 40 percent Black, but only four out of seventeen city council members and three out of nine school board members are Black. Blacks do not have proportional representation on any elected or appointed body of government in the city or state.

Segregated schools

Today, Blacks comprise 62 percent of the students in the 251 public schools here. According to a report by the Pennsylvania Human Relations Commission (PHRC), 214 of these schools are segregated.

Segregation has meant that the Black schools are the most crowded, most run-down, and least able to

provide a decent education. This has been shown by every statistic from reading levels to the number of graduates accepted into college. Segregation has meant unequal education and opportunity.

This situation has long been apparent to anyone with eyes to see and ears to hear, and is the basis of an order issued by the PHRC in June 1971, charging the board of education with discriminatory practices and directing it to desegregate the schools.

The PHRC is a state body empowered to investigate and order remedies for discrimination in employment, housing, and the use of public facilities (including schools).

The school board fought the PHRC order in Commonwealth Court, which upheld the PHRC in August 1972. A new order was issued and after months of fruitless negotiations, the court ordered the board to submit a desegregation plan in February 1974. This plan was rejected as inadequate by the PHRC.

Desegregation plans

In October 1974 the court issued another order to the school board and the PHRC to come up with desegregation plans, which were submitted in July.

In June the school board held hearings on the plan it was proposing to submit. The plan would have desegregated less than half of the segregated schools. But even this tokenist proposal evoked a savage response from racist-minded whites. Large crowds, almost entirely white, attended the hearings to denounce "forced busing" and to call for preserving "neighborhood schools."

The only speakers in favor of desegregation were representatives of the National Organization for Women and the Philadelphia Federation of Teachers, and Tony Austin, Coordinator of the Philadelphia Student Coalition Against Racism.

Austin pointed out that the same code words for racist opposition to school desegregation were being used in Philadelphia as in Boston. "In South Boston the Black students were met at the school with bricks and stones," he said. "If the issue was 'neighborhood schools,' then why didn't they paint that on the walls? Instead, racist slogans like 'Kill niggers' and 'Boneheads, go back to Africa' were the slogans on the walls. And, as a matter of fact, I heard some of these racist epithets outside this building while trying to get through the crowd."

Austin then pointed to the crucial

weakness of the desegregation hearings: "Despite the fact that 62 percent of the Philadelphia student population is Black, 99 percent of those outside and those who have been testifying are white. So the Black majority, the ones who would benefit from desegregation, actually aren't represented here today."

Racist pressure

On June 5, the board gave in to the racist pressure and junked even the token plan. The plan it finally submitted would merge ten suburban school districts with the city schools, without providing concrete steps for desegregation.

"Actually, we were simply saying that desegregation in Philadelphia is not possible. . . . that means busing thousands of kids," an anonymous school board member told the *New York Times*, "and just like Boston, it's not going to work in Philadelphia."

At the same time, the Democrats and Republicans in the state legislature rammed through a bill that would take away the power of the PHRC to order busing to desegregate the schools. The measure passed both the House and Senate by large margins.

Democratic Gov. Milton Shapp then vetoed the bill, but not because he favors desegregation—just the opposite. He said he was vetoing the bill because it would be "an open invitation to the federal courts to step in and dictate the very busing programs in Pennsylvania that this legislation would prevent. . . . thereby opening the door for federal courts in Pennsylvania to do what they did in Boston."

Both the school board's phony plan and a plan submitted by the PHRC are now being considered by Commonwealth Court Judge Roy Wilkinson.

The PHRC plan calls for a combination of busing and "pairing" schools in nearby neighborhoods, which would desegregate 87 percent of the city's schools. It concentrates mainly on the elementary schools, with the idea that the feeder pattern established will eventually desegregate the high schools as well. The PHRC plan would leave most of the white Northeast segregated.

A court decision could conceivably be issued this fall. If busing is ordered it will probably start in the fall of 1976.

Defend busing

In face of the racist opposition to desegregation, a number of Black groups, including the NAACP and People United to Save Humanity (PUSH), have defended busing as a means to achieve equality in education.

A coalition for desegregated education that includes the NAACP, PUSH, the Urban League, the Philadelphia Federation of Teachers, and other community and religious groups has also been formed.

Earl Trent, chairperson of the Philadelphia NAACP Legal Redress Committee, told the *Militant* that the

Continued on page 26

Socialist backs equal education fight

PHILADELPHIA—In the November elections for mayor here, Democratic incumbent Frank Rizzo, an ex-cop and notorious racist, will be confronted by Socialist Workers party candidate Terry Ann Hardy. While Rizzo is giving full support to the reactionaries who are trying to block school desegregation, Hardy is campaigning for the right of the Black community to equal education. In a recent statement she said:

"The Socialist Workers party wholeheartedly supports the fight for equal education for Blacks. In Philadelphia today the fight for equal education is the fight for desegregation of the school system by any means necessary, including

the use of busing.

"The inaction of the school board and the unserious nature of every one of its proposals is just further testimony to their defense of racist educational practices. While the Pennsylvania Human Relations Commission's proposal is a serious attempt to provide equal education through desegregation, it would still leave large portions of the school system segregated, including some of the best facilities in Northeast Philadelphia.

"The most important thing in a successful fight for equal education is for the Black community to make itself heard—its presence felt—in the fight."



Militant/Jon Flanders

SWP mayoral candidate Terry Ann Hardy.

Atlanta Black activists protest terror threats

By Joel Aber

ATLANTA—Black activists Don and Anne Edwards have been terrorized with repeated threats of violence, assassination, and kidnapping. The Edwardses are leaders of the Vencemos Brigade, a group that supports the Cuban revolution. They are also organizers at the Institute of the Black World, a radical Black studies center near Atlanta University.

In response to the attacks, a news conference was held July 16. State Sen. Julian Bond, Susan Perry of the National Conference of Black Lawyers, and Georgia American Civil Liberties Union Director Gene Guerrero told the media they are demanding that the Justice Department and FBI take action to prevent further intimidation.

Since last November, the incidents of intimidation against the Edwardses have been escalating. They have ranged from threatening letters and phone calls to vandalism, three burglaries at the Institute of the Black World, and a concrete block thrown through

the Edwardses' bedroom window while they were sleeping.

The Edwardses' baby was being kept with an elderly couple in Southwest Atlanta for safety. On July 14, that couple received a letter stating: "Do not keep the child of Don and Anne Edwards after today—Ever! . . . If their baby is seen going in or coming out of your house again, we will have to destroy it. . . ."

Another letter, addressed to a man who did not know the Edwardses, contained a "contract" for the kidnapping and murder of Anne Edwards and the destruction of the institute.

This letter was personally delivered to Don Edwards at work by an FBI agent, who claimed the FBI had gotten it from the original recipient. The FBI said it was delivering the letter "as a favor," but refuses to investigate it because the case "is not in our jurisdiction."

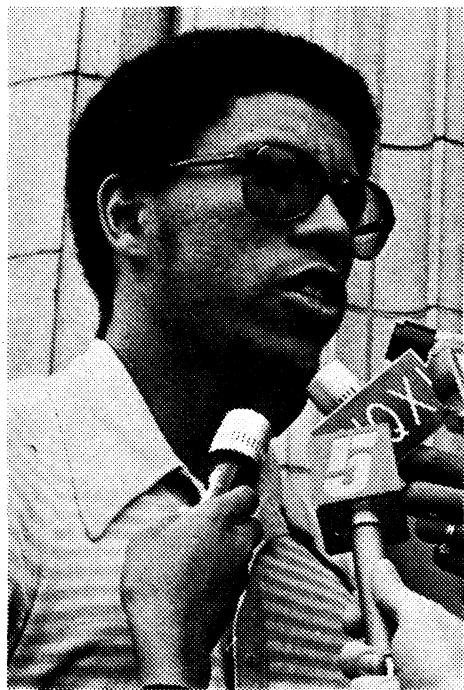
Don Edwards told the *Militant*, "We consider it the responsibility of the Justice Department and the FBI to put a stop to it. They have the resources. We consider them liable for whatever happens in the future in terms of our personal safety."

At the news conference Bond raised the possibility that the government may be directly responsible for the attacks. "It is certainly conceivable, in the light of the Watergate revelations and the CIA assassinations of foreign officials," Bond said, that "some government agency" may be involved.

Perry told the *Militant* that the idea of government participation in the harassment "is not far-fetched."

The harassment has forced the Edwardses to move to a new apartment after temporarily leaving the city. Anne Edwards was forced to drop out of law school because the intimidation made it impossible for her to study for final exams.

Nevertheless, Don Edwards said that they "won't be intimidated" and will continue their political activities. He added, "We will continue to expose everything that happens to the public arena because the people who are doing this cannot operate in the light."



Militant/Joel Aber

Don Edwards, at news conference, demands government protection from racist attacks.

Union demands action to halt L.A. bombers

By Walter Lippmann

SAN FRANCISCO—The Western Conference of the Service Employees International Union has called upon the Los Angeles City Council to amend a reward offer it made following the bombing of the Mexican consulate there.

After the July 15 bombing, the city council offered a \$25,000 reward for information leading to the arrest of those responsible.

At its meeting here July 16-19, the SEIU adopted a resolution commending the city council for posting the reward, noting that the attack on the consulate climaxed a whole wave of terrorist bombings in the city.

The resolution therefore urged that the reward offer be extended to cover information that would lead to the arrest of those responsible for all the other unsolved bombings in the city this year.

There have been more than a dozen such bomb attacks in recent months. The Socialist Workers party, the National Committee to Re-Open the Rosenberg Case, the Unidos bookstore, and others have been among the targets.

Although known Nazi and Cuban-

exile groups have publicly taken credit for most of the attacks, the Los Angeles police have made no arrests.

The resolution approved by the SEIU conference was introduced by Local 535 of Los Angeles. The local has demanded action to stop the bombings from the outset.

The resolution was the only one brought forward by the conference resolutions committee without a recommendation.

However, a strong speech was made from the floor in behalf of the resolution by Elinor Glenn, general manager of Los Angeles County Employees Union Local 434 and a leader of the Los Angeles Coalition of Labor Union Women.

She then presented a motion for adoption of the resolution, which was approved by a near-unanimous vote.

The resolution declared in part:

"Be it resolved that we commend the Los Angeles City Council for posting a \$25,000 reward for information leading to the arrest of those responsible for the attack on the Mexican Consulate and urge the City Council to extend this reward to cover . . . all of the unsolved bombings which have occurred in Los Angeles this year."

Mpls. rally demands end to police brutality

By Gillian Ronson

MINNEAPOLIS—About 200 people, one-third of them Black, attended a rally against police brutality held at the Sabathani Community Center here July 18.

The broadly sponsored rally was held after a series of attacks showed the escalating police brutality against Blacks and Indians in this city. One example was the shooting in the back in June of a fourteen-year-old Black by a policeman. This shooting occurred in broad daylight at 3:30 p.m., but the cop was exonerated by the police department.

A featured speaker at the rally was Maceo Dixon, a coordinator of the National Student Coalition Against Racism. Dixon flew in from Boston, where NSCAR is headquartered, to speak at the rally.

"This meeting in Minneapolis is very important," he said, "because it is one step on the way to stopping police brutality in this city."

"NSCAR supports your struggle against police brutality here in Minneapolis, as it supports the probusing forces in Boston and the fight for freedom for Joanne Little in Raleigh, North Carolina," he continued. "It is all part of the national struggle against racism."

The rally was chaired by August Nimtz, a professor at the University of Minnesota and a member of the Minnesota Student Coalition Against Racism.

Other speakers at the rally were Clyde Bellecourt, national director of the American Indian Movement; Art Cunningham, president of the Minnea-



Militant/Mark Satinoff

Maceo Dixon of National Student Coalition Against Racism was featured speaker at protest meeting.

polis NAACP; Spike Moss, director of the New Way and a member of the Black United Front; Gene Robinson, from the Minnesota Prisoners Union; and Willie Mae Demmings. Demmings is a South Minneapolis resident who was beaten by the police and then found guilty of assault and of interfering with an officer.

Art Cunningham said that the NAACP was declaring war on cop brutality. "We should continue to show force in these kinds of rallies and demonstrations," he said.

"We will no longer tolerate police brutality . . .," he declared. "It must be ended!"

Teamsters fail to stop Portland UFW pickets

By Jim Watson

PORTLAND, Ore.—A large squad of Teamster goons failed to intimidate a demonstration of 125 United Farm Workers supporters here July 12. The UFW supporters had marched from the Civic Stadium to a Kienow's Foods store where the Teamsters were waiting for them.

For the last few months, officials of Teamsters Local 670 and Retail Clerks Local 1092 have been decrying alleged harassment of customers and Retail Clerks union members by supporters of the UFW. Sympathizers of the farm workers have been carrying out informational picketing at various Kienow's Foods stores, a local supermarket chain.

The real harassment, however, has come from the Teamster officials and the thugs they have sent to picket lines to assault UFW supporters.

The most serious incident occurred May 17 at a Kienow's store in southeast Portland. Rev. Veral Seagraves, staff coordinator of the Portland boycott, narrowly escaped serious injury when attacked by two thugs swinging half-gallon jugs of wine. When Seagraves sought refuge in the store itself, Kienow's security chief ordered store employees to throw Seagraves back outside so he could "get what he deserved" at the hands of the two goons.

In response to the attack, during which Seagraves received numerous scrapes and bruises, the Portland boycott committee filed a \$1 million suit against the Teamster local the two goons were members of and against Kienow's. The committee is also seeking a court injunction against further attacks.

The July 12 march was called to help publicize and win support for the suit and to demand that Kienow's stop selling Gallo wines and non-UFW lettuce and grapes.

As the 125 UFW supporters assembled at the Civic Stadium, rumors began circulating that the Teamsters had set up a "counter-picket" at the Kienow's store. In order to keep the demonstration peaceful, a squad of marshals was organized on the spot, and the march began.

Upon arriving at the store, the marchers found ninety Teamsters spread throughout the parking lot—complete with a Teamster "farm worker" flown in from California who was speaking from a sound truck.

However, the size and spirit of the march was more than the Teamster officials had bargained for. The enthusiasm of the Teamster chant "Boycott Chávez" diminished rapidly as the marchers responded "Boycott lettuce, boycott grapes, boycott wine that Gallo makes."

The Teamster on the sound truck tried red-baiting the marchers by referring to the presence of the Young Socialist Alliance and Socialist Workers party members in the UFW group.

When even many of the Teamsters present did not respond to this witch-hunt tactic, the speaker turned to calling the UFW marchers Nazis and began screaming "Sieg heil! Sieg heil!" This disgusting performance was even less well-received by Teamsters, marchers, and customers alike.

Although tensions ran high as the UFW supporters marched through the parking lot, there was no physical confrontation.

Calendar

BOSTON

THE CRISIS IN INDIA: WHAT'S BEHIND GANDHI'S COUP. Speaker: Malik Miah, national chairperson, YSA. Fri., Aug. 8, 8 p.m. 655 Atlantic Ave., Third Floor (across from South Station). Donation: \$1. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (617) 482-8050.

LOS ANGELES

LOS ANGELES POLICE DEPARTMENT: THE TRUTH ABOUT THE NEW CENTURIONS. A conference. Sat., Aug. 16, 10 a.m. to 10 p.m. Carpenter's Hall, 2200 W. Seventh St. Ausp: Campaign for Democratic Freedoms. P.O. Box 9662, Marina Del Rey, Calif. 90201. For more information call (213) 821-9596.

OAKLAND-BERKELEY

BENEFIT FILM FOR POLITICAL RIGHTS DEFENSE FUND. *The Caine Mutiny.* Sat., Aug. 9, 7:00 p.m. and 9:30 p.m. Berkeley Fellowship of Unitarians, Cedar and Bonita. Donation: \$1.50. Ausp: PRDF. For more information call (415) 548-0820.

...Detroit

Continued from page 8

recalled this morning, and stomped on his bike.

Cops were seen brandishing automatic shotguns. One radio car careened around a corner with two cops, including the driver, levelling M-16s at pedestrians, who ducked for cover.

Other cop cars raced through the streets at high speeds, provocatively, narrowly missing pedestrians.

Prior to the final cop dispersal of protesters late last night, stunned community members were asking themselves why.

"They should have never let that guy out on \$500 bond," a man in a gray jersey and cut-off jeans was saying. "Then they couldn't find him. That's what people are upset about."

"The tensions are high because of economic conditions, unemployment, the whole damned bit," another man said.

Mary Jones, a fortyish woman, stood watering the gladiolus on her lawn on a block where neat two-story frame or brick houses predominated.

"I think I can understand it. That guy Chinarian was never any good, and all along things have been building up. Now I guess some of my teenage neighbors are mad," she said with a faint look of distress.

Within an hour, battle-ready cops

were trampling down her nice gladiolus in hot pursuit of her teen-age neighbors who had simply gotten mad at a guy that was never any good.

...strike

Continued from page 18

workers will receive a raise of 4 percent plus one-half the percentage increase in the cost of living. The demands for an agency shop and affirmative action were not met.

Several lessons can be drawn from the Santa Clara County strike. First, the strike was a warning to public workers throughout California of the well-organized and coordinated effort by the ruling class to drive down the real wages and standard of living of workers, with workers in the public sector now experiencing the brunt of this attack.

The growing fiscal crisis created by inflation, rising unemployment, and military spending is providing the rulers with the necessary handle to attack public workers with a viciousness unmatched in previous years, blaming them for the growing tax burden.

Second, despite this concerted attack, public workers can fight back. Although the strikers were forced back to work without winning their demands, the general feeling was that the preservation of the union, now only four years old and going through its first test, was in itself an accomplishment.

Dennis O'Neal, chief negotiator for Local 535, told the *Militant*: "It took much more to win than I previously expected. We weren't able to break the county power structure, and until we do, we won't have a decisive victory."

Third, in order to win "a decisive victory," public workers will have to learn to rely on their own efforts and the solidarity and support of other unions. The courts, police, and press are all on the other side. There should be no mistaking what to expect from liberal politicians.

Workers should not and need not rely on these politicians, who are owned and controlled by the two capitalist parties, the Democrats and Republicans. Rather, the unions will have to rely on their own independent action, politically as well as on the job.

...Phila.

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NAACP favors a metropolitan plan that would include the suburbs in any desegregation steps. He added that while the school board claimed to favor this approach as well, their proposal is "not a serious attempt" to desegregate.

Trent feels that the issue will not be definitively settled without going to federal court, and that desegregation will be impossible without busing.

Rev. Jesse Jackson of PUSH, who was in town to speak at a demonstration of Black high school students protesting cutbacks in education programs, also favors a merger with the suburban districts.

"We must have the option of going to the best school possible," he said. He compared the present quality of education here to a doughnut: "The outside is a golden circle with good education. The ghetto school is the hole—a bottomless pit."

...Little

Continued from back page

his question. It appears, however, that the jailer wanted to know whether he would have free run of the jail for the remainder of the night.

Under cross-examination, King was asked by Dees, "Didn't you tell the SBI [State Bureau of Investigation] that it was unusual for Alligood to just ask if the deputies were gone?"

"I don't remember," replied King.

The court then took a recess for lunch.

When court reconvened, Hobgood announced that he had a "serious matter" to take up. He then asked King if it were true that Dees had approached her during the recess and asked her to change her testimony, telling her, "It will help Joanne and will not hurt the state." King claimed he had.

Dees immediately explained to the judge that he had simply approached King with a summary of an interview he had conducted with her in June, in which she told him Alligood's behavior was unusual that night. Dees said that he had shown her the summary and then asked her to tell the truth from the witness stand.

"Didn't I insist that you tell the truth?" he asked, turning to King.

"Yes," she replied.

But without waiting for any further explanation, Hobgood abruptly told Dees, "All right, Mr. Dees, you are out of the case right now. You have five minutes to get out of the courtroom."

At a news conference at the end of the day, attorneys Dees and Jerry Paul pledged to challenge Hobgood's action.

Dees said his only crime was "attempting to get the truth from a witness who was very reluctant to tell the truth." He denied telling King to perjure herself to "help Joanne."

Paul told reporters this is not the first time authorities have interfered with attempts to have conversations with Beverly King, who is Black. On a previous occasion, Paul recalled, the mayor of Washington himself tried to obstruct an interview the defense conducted with her.

"No matter what happens," said Paul, "we have a long fight ahead of us."

Judge Hobgood's precipitous action in ejecting Dees from the case stands in sharp contrast to the lenient treatment he has given the prosecution throughout the trial. Last week, the judge denied a defense motion to exclude attorney John Wilkinson from the prosecution, despite the fact that he has had privileged client-attorney conversations with Joanne Little in the past.

But when Dees merely tried to elicit the facts from a witness who has clearly been intimidated by the state, he was instantly banned from the courtroom.

To protest Hobgood's action, a demonstration is scheduled here for July 31, called by the Coalition to Free Joanne Little. The demonstration will demand reinstatement of Dees and dropping of all the charges against him.

The new attacks on the defense show again, as Little pointed out, that "the prosecution is not playing." It is dead set on succeeding with this racist frame-up.

The latest developments underscore the need for continued united, visible support actions for Little throughout the trial. It is these support activities in the past that won a national hearing for this young woman, and it is this type of solidarity that can free her now.

Socialist Directory

ARIZONA: Tucson: YSA, c/o Clennon, S.U.P.O. Box 20965, Tucson, Ariz. 85720.

CALIFORNIA: Berkeley-Oakland: SWP and YSA, 1849 University Ave., Berkeley, Calif. 94703. Tel: (415) 548-0354.

Long Beach: YSA, c/o Student Activities Office, CSU, 6101 E. 7th St., Long Beach, Calif. 90807.

Los Angeles, Central-East: SWP, YSA, Militant Bookstore, 710 S. Westlake Ave., Los Angeles, Calif. 90057. Tel: SWP, Militant Bookstore—(213) 483-1512; YSA—(213) 483-2581.

Los Angeles, West Side: SWP and YSA, 230 Broadway, Santa Monica, Calif. 90401. Tel: (213) 394-9050.

Los Angeles: City-wide SWP and YSA, 710 S. Westlake Ave., Los Angeles, Calif. 90057. Tel: (213) 483-0357.

Riverside: YSA, c/o U. of Cal. Campus Activities, 234 Commons, Riverside, Calif. 92507.

Sacramento: YSA, P.O. Box 20669, Sacramento, Calif. 95824.

San Diego: SWP, YSA, and Militant Bookstore, 4635 El Cajon Blvd., San Diego, Calif. 92115. Tel: (714) 280-1292.

San Francisco: SWP, YSA, Militant Labor Forum, and Militant Books, 1519 Mission St., San Francisco, Calif. 94103. Tel: SWP—(415) 431-8918; YSA—(415) 863-2285; Militant Books—(415) 864-9174.

San Jose: YSA, 96 S. 17th St., San Jose, Calif. 95112. Tel: (408) 286-0615.

Santa Barbara: YSA, P.O. Box 14606, UCSB, Santa Barbara, Calif. 93107.

COLORADO: Denver: SWP, YSA, and Militant Bookstore, 1203 California, Denver, Colo. 80204. Tel: SWP—(303) 623-2825; YSA—(303) 893-8360.

FLORIDA: Tallahassee: YSA, P.O. Box U-6350, Tallahassee, Fla. 32313.

GEORGIA: Atlanta: Militant Bookstore, 68 Peachtree St., N.E., Third Floor, Atlanta, Ga. 30303. SWP and YSA, P.O. Box 846, Atlanta, Ga. 30301. Tel: (404) 523-0610.

ILLINOIS: Champaign: YSA, Room 284 Illini Union, Urbana, Ill. 61801.

Chicago: SWP, YSA, Pathfinder Books, 428 S. Wabash, Fifth Floor, Chicago, Ill. 60605. Tel: SWP—(312) 939-0737; YSA—(312) 427-0280, Pathfinder Books—(312) 939-0756.

INDIANA: Bloomington: YSA, c/o Student Activities Desk, Indiana University, Bloomington, Ind. 47401.

Indianapolis: YSA, c/o Carole McKee, 1309 E. Vermont St., Indianapolis, Ind. 46202. Tel: (317) 637-1105.

KANSAS: Lawrence: YSA, c/o Christopher Starr, 3020 Iowa St., Apt. C-14, Lawrence, Kans. 66044. Tel: (913) 864-3975 or 842-8658.

KENTUCKY: Lexington: YSA, P.O. Box 952 University Station, Lexington, Ky. 40506. Tel: (606) 266-0536.

LOUISIANA: New Orleans: YSA, Box 1330 U.N.O., New Orleans, La. 70122.

MARYLAND: Baltimore: YSA, P.O. Box 4314, Baltimore, Md. 21223. Tel: (301) 247-8911.

MASSACHUSETTS: Boston: SWP and YSA, c/o Militant Labor Forum, 655 Atlantic Ave., Third Floor, Boston, Mass. 02111. Tel: SWP—(617) 482-8050; YSA—(617) 482-8051; Issues and Activists Speakers' Bureau (IASB) and Regional Committee—(617) 482-8052; Pathfinder Books—(617) 338-8560.

Worcester: YSA, Box 229, Greendale Station, Worcester, Mass. 01606.

MICHIGAN: Ann Arbor: YSA, Room 4103, Mich. Union, University of Michigan, Ann Arbor, Mich. 48104. Tel: (313) 663-8766.

Detroit: SWP, YSA, Eugene V. Debs Hall, 3737 Woodward Ave., Detroit, Mich. 48201. Tel: (313) 831-6135.

East Lansing: YSA, First Floor Student Offices, East Lansing Bldg., Michigan State University, East Lansing, Mich. 48823. Tel: (517) 353-0660.

Kalamazoo: YSA, c/o Gail Altenburg, 3511 Ken-

brooke Ct., Kalamazoo, Mich. 49007. Tel: (616) 375-6370.

Mt. Pleasant: YSA, Box 51 Warriner Hall, Central Mich. Univ., Mt. Pleasant, Mich. 48859.

MINNESOTA: Minneapolis-St. Paul: SWP, YSA, Labor Bookstore, 25 University Ave. S.E., Mpls., Minn. 55414. Tel: (612) 332-7781.

MISSOURI: St. Louis: SWP, YSA, Pathfinder Books, 4660 Maryland, Suite 17, St. Louis, Mo. 63108. Tel: (314) 367-2520.

NEW YORK: Albany: YSA, c/o Spencer Livingston, 317 State St., Albany, N.Y. 12210.

Brooklyn: SWP and YSA, 136 Lawrence St. (at Willoughby), Brooklyn, N.Y. 11201. Tel: (212) 596-2849.

New York City: City-wide SWP and YSA, 706 Broadway (4th St.), Eighth Floor, New York, N.Y. 10003. Tel: (212) 982-4966.

Lower Manhattan: SWP, YSA, and Merit Bookstore, 706 Broadway (4th St.), Eighth Floor, New York, N.Y. 10003. Tel: SWP, YSA—(212) 982-6051; Merit Books (212) 982-5940.

Upper West Side: SWP, YSA, Pathfinder Bookstore, 2726 Broadway (104th St.), New York, N.Y. 10025. Tel: (212) 663-3000.

Ossining: YSA, c/o Scott Cooper, 127-1 S. Highland Ave., Ossining, N.Y. 10562.

NORTH CAROLINA: Greenville: YSA, P.O. Box 1693, Greenville, N.C. 27834. Tel: (919) 752-6439.

OHIO: Bowling Green: YSA, P.O. Box 27, University Hall, Bowling Green State University, Bowling Green, Ohio 43431.

Cincinnati: YSA, c/o Charles R. Mitts, 6830 Buckingham Pl., Cincinnati, Ohio 45227.

Cleveland: SWP and YSA, 2300 Payne, Cleveland, Ohio 44114. Tel: (216) 861-4166.

Columbus: YSA, c/o Margaret Van Epp, 670 Cuyahoga Ct., Columbus, Ohio 43210. Tel: (614) 268-7860.

OREGON: Portland: SWP and YSA, 208 S.W. Stark, Fifth Floor, Portland, Ore. 97204. Tel: (503) 226-2715.

PENNSYLVANIA: Edinboro: YSA, Edinboro State College, Edinboro, Pa. 16412.

Philadelphia: SWP, YSA, Pathfinder Bookstore, 1004 Filbert St. (one block north of Market), Philadelphia, Pa. 19107. Tel: (215) WA5-4316.

Pittsburgh: SWP, YSA, Pathfinder Press, 3400 Fifth Ave., Pittsburgh, Pa. 15213. Tel: (412) 682-5019.

Shippensburg: YSA, c/o Mark Dressler, Box 214 Lackhove Hall, Shippensburg State College, Shippensburg, Pa. 17257.

State College: YSA, 333 Logan Ave. #401, State College, Pa. 16801.

TENNESSEE: Nashville: YSA, P.O. Box 67, Station B, Nashville, Tenn. 37235. Tel: (615) 383-2583.

TEXAS: Austin: YSA, c/o Arnold Rodríguez, 901 Morrow, Apt. 303, Austin, Tex. 78757.

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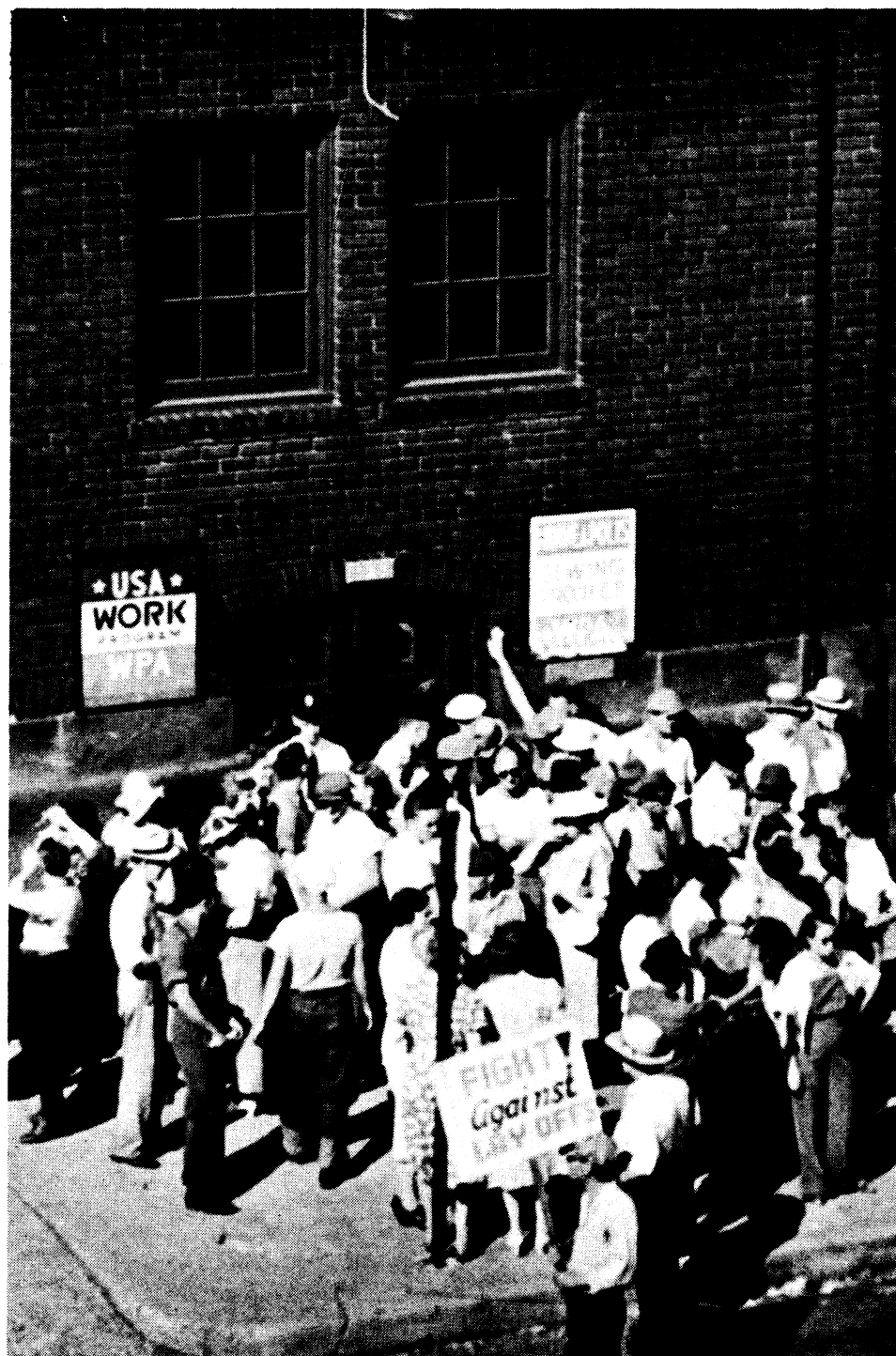
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THE MILITANT

Lawyer expelled

Judge attacks defense in Joanne Little trial

By Cindy Jaquith

RALEIGH, N.C., July 30—"The prosecution is not playing. They're going to be out there like wolves, trying to put me in the gas chamber," Joanne Little warned here July 28.

Little, a twenty-one-year-old Black woman, is currently on trial for her life, faced with first-degree murder charges in the ice pick-stabbing of white jailer Clarence Alligood in August 1974. Little, who was in jail in Washington, North Carolina, at the time, contends that she acted in self-defense when Alligood tried to rape her.

"Regardless of what should have been," Little said, "they are going to try me and try to get a conviction."



Militant/Cindy Jaquith
Demonstrator outside Wake County Courthouse in Raleigh, North Carolina, where Joanne Little is being tried for murder.

"The town I grew up in is full of racists," she explained. "If they don't get a conviction, then they admit they were wrong. This is what they definitely don't want to do."

The very next day, July 29, one of Little's main attorneys, Morris Dees, was arbitrarily thrown out of the case by Judge Hamilton Hobgood on the spurious charge that he had tried to get a witness to lie on the stand.

Less than an hour after the ejection of Dees, District Attorney Burley Mitchell called together reporters to triumphantly announce that Dees was being charged with attempting to encourage perjury, a felony with a maximum sentence of ten years.

The outrageous attack on Dees was part of a concerted crackdown by the judge and cops that day. Earlier, a spectator had been banned from further attendance at the trial because he failed to stand when the judge entered the room.

Later, two Black supporters of Little were arrested outside the courthouse for allegedly violating an injunction against demonstrations on court property. Charles Zollicoffer, of the Winston-Salem Black Panther party, and Rev. Howard Wiley, also of Winston-Salem, were both jailed.

Prosecution has difficulties

The offensive against Little's attorneys and supporters came as the defense was making deep inroads into the testimony of prosecution witnesses. Although the state was only into the second day of its case, its witnesses had already amassed a pile of discrepancies, contradictions, and inconsistencies.

Sgt. Jerry Helms and officer John Rose, both of the Washington police force, offered strangely divergent descriptions of the state in which Alligood's body was found. Helms, who claimed to have discovered the body



Militant/Cindy Jaquith

Jurors in Little trial are escorted by marshal during court recess. Prosecution case so far has been riddled with contradictions.

first, said Alligood held an ice pick in one hand and his trousers in the other.

Rose, who said he came to see the body only minutes later, testified he found neither an ice pick nor pants in Alligood's hands. The two cops also differed on other items that were allegedly in the cell area.

Neither cop gave any indication that semen covered part of Alligood's leg, although both conceded that he was nude from the waist down.

The evidence of recent sexual activity on Alligood's part was brought out by Dr. Harry Carpenter, the first medical examiner to inspect the body. Carpenter testified that there was a "significant" amount of seminal fluid on the dead jailer's thigh, which he said "indicated sexual activity."

Under cross-examination, the doctor said he did not believe the semen was merely the result of a traumatic death, as the prosecution at one time con-

tended. Carpenter also stated that the ice pick was in Alligood's hand and that he appeared to have been clutching it at the time of death.

Carpenter's testimony, however, was never heard by the grand jury that indicted Little for murder. Although he volunteered to testify, state authorities would not permit him to do so at that time.

Lawyer victimized

It was during questioning of the fourth witness, Beverly King, that defense attorney Dees was thrown out of the trial. King, a radio dispatcher at the jail, was present the night Alligood was killed. She testified that at 2:55 a.m., roughly an hour before the jailer was found dead, he had come into her office to inquire whether all the deputies had gone home for the night. She said he did not explain the reason for

Continued on page 26

Reporter's notebook: the mood in Raleigh

RALEIGH, N.C.—It was July 14, the opening day of the Joanne Little trial, and I had joined other demonstrators taking refuge from the rain at McCrory's lunch counter. McCrory's, a local five-and-dime, was a scene of civil rights sit-ins in the 1960s.

A middle-aged Black woman took our orders and brought back our food without a word. Then she leaned over to one protester and asked if she could buy a "Free Joanne Little" button. "Oh, here, just take this one," he replied, unpinning his button and handing it to her. The waitress smiled and quickly slipped it into her pocket before her supervisor returned.

About a week later, I was standing outside the Wake County Courthouse waiting to get some photographs of the jury as it returned from lunch. Seeing my camera and press badge, three eight-year-old boys approached me.

Each had a huge newspaper bag slung over his shoulder bearing the name *The Carolinian*, one of the local Black papers.

The three had taken a break from hawking the paper and were hoping they might get to see Joanne Little. "Have you ever seen her?" asked one. His friend, eyeing me cautiously, asked, "Are you for freeing her?" I told him I was and he looked relieved. "She needs lots of support," he said, "because some people around here would like to beat her up real bad."

Those "some people" certainly exist, but they've been too cowardly to show their faces around the courthouse thus far. And inside the courtroom, the long row set aside for friends and relatives of Clarence Alligood, the alleged murder victim, has remained empty.

The back three rows of the courtroom, which are designated for specta-

tors, have been filled with Joanne's supporters nearly every day. Blacks, young and old, students, women's liberation activists, and former prisoners have all crowded in to express their solidarity with Joanne's fight.

Those of us sitting in the spectators' section during jury selection frequently found it hard to suppress groans of disgust when the prosecution made one of its typical racist remarks, or when a prospective juror let slip his or her anti-Black bias.

The comment that got the biggest gut reaction was when a white man named Robert Kennedy told defense attorney Jerry Paul: "You'd have a hard time convincing me that a sixty-two-year-old married man opened a cellblock door and raped a Black girl against her will." (As any self-respecting racist knows, Black women

find it impossible to resist the charms of sixty-two-year-old white jailers.)

Women spectators bristled during prosecuting attorney Lester Chalmers's questioning of prospective female jurors. Chalmers not only believes we are still living in the age of Jim Crow, but he also believes that "the fairer sex" is too emotionally unstable to sit on juries. "When you start into the trial, the evidence is bloody and all that," he warned one young woman. "How will that affect your nerves and emotions?"

Every once in a while there is a little comic relief, such as when the judge questioned prospective juror Jesse Horton, a young white man. Horton told the judge he had to be frank: "I think the judicial system stinks. And I think my opinion is that of many people in this country." —C.J.